

History of the Shattari Silsilah

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF
Doctor of Philosophy

By
QAZI MOIN UDDIN AHMAD

PREPARED
Under the Supervision
OF
Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

The Government of Madhya Pradesh granted me Governor's special scholarship (1956 - 1958) to enter upon a course of study for the Ph.D. degree of the Aligarh Muslim University. I had to prepare this thesis under great difficulties as the works compiled by the Shaṭṭārī sufis were not available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library. I travelled extensively in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Rājasthān, and Bombay in search of material for my thesis and consulted a number of private and public collections in these areas.

I owe my thanks to the following gentlemen who permitted me to use their private collections:

Shaikh Niamat Ullah Sajjādah Nashin of the Khānqāh, Maner,
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Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān of Bihar,
Shah Ghulam Hasnain of Phulwāri,
Shaikh Iz u'd-din of Phulwāri,
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Sufi Ahmad 'Alī of Dasna,
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Sahib, Patna city,
Nawāb of Chunar,
Mirzā Asad Beg of Mirzāpur,
Nawāb Mirzā Haidar Beg of Jaunpur,
Nawāb Maulvi Muhammad Umar of Machlishahir,
Shaikh Muhammad Mustufā Sajjādah Nashin of the Khānqāh-i-
Rashidiyah, Jaunpur,
Maulvi Fasih-u'd-din of Jaunpur,
Sajjādah Nashin of the Barood Wali Khānqāh, Lucknow,
Sajjādah Nashin of the Taksāl Wali Khānqāh, Lucknow,

Sajjādah Nashin of the Khānqah, Kakori,
Maulvi Ayaz 'Ali of Rewa,
Rada Hadratji of Gwalior,
Qadi Ma'raj u'd-din of Dholpur,
Shāh Ahkam Ullah Sajjādah Nashin of Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān,
Burhānpur,
Ghulam 'Ali Shāh of Ahmadabad,
Sayyid Ajaz Ahmad Sajjādah Nashin of Dargah-i-Shaikh Sabir
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I acknowledge my thanks to the District Magistrate of Muzaffarpur who permitted me to use the documents that are preserved in the Land Record Office.

Most of the private collections that I have used have no catalogues and the books were found buried under the layers of dust. I had to remove the dust, sort out books of my subject and then take down notes from them. This labour would have completely broken down my spirits had not my father Qazi Jala-u'd-din Ahmad Sahib, encouraged and inspired me to pursue my work with zeal and courage. I cannot express in words the debt that I owe to him.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

الف	a, i,	ف	f
ب	b (bh)	ق	q
پ	p (ph)	ک	k (k'h)
ت	t (th)	گ	g (g'h)
ح	h	ل	l
خ	<u>kh</u>	م	m
د	d (d'h)	ن	n
ذ	<u>dh</u>	و	w, u (ū)
ڈ	d.	ہ	h
ر	r	ی	y (i)
ز	z		
ژ	zh		
س	s		
ش	<u>sh</u>		
ص	s.		
ض	d.		
ط	t.		
ث	<u>th</u>		
ظ	t.		
ج	j (jh)		
چ	ch (chh)		
ظ	z.		
ع	'		
غ	<u>gh</u>		

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I N T R O D U C T O R Y

The fifteenth century of the Christian era in India was marked by the continuous creation of new religious sects, systems of philosophy and mystic schools. The Bhakti cult, the Mehdavi ideology, the Shattari silsilah and the Raushaniyah movement are some of the more important expressions of this deep spiritual quest and intellectual activity. While some work has been done on the Bhakti¹, the Mehdavi² and the Raushaniyah³ movements, no work has so far seen the light of the day on the Shattari order

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1. Besides Dr. Tara Chand's classical work, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, which contains illuminating accounts of the Bhakti saints, biographical sketches of Kabir (Kabir Manshur, life & teachings of Kabir and the doctrines of the Kabir Panth, by Parmanand Das; Kabir and Kabir Panth, by H.G. Westcott) Chaitanya (Chaitanya's Life & Teachings, by J.N. Sarkar) and other saints of the Bhakti school have already appeared.
 2. Though no exhaustive work on the Mehdavis has appeared in English, large number of original Mehdavi sources (e.g. Insaf Namah by Miyan Wali; Mails-i-Miyan Mustafa Qvirati; Anwarul Uyun by Sayyid Qasim Mujtahid) and short biographies of eminent Mehdavi saints have been published by the Jamiat-i-Mehdaviya, Mushirabad - Deccan. The concept of Mehdi has been explained by Margoliouth in his Mahdi and Mhdiism. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has given a graphic account of the Mehdavi activities in his Tadhkirah, based on the works of Badauni Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and Hajjat ur Rashid Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhadith (Zal al-Mutaggin, MS.) and Shaikh Ali Muttaqqi (Al-Burhan fi Alam al-Mehdi). Accounts are available also in the following : Encyclopaedia of Islam III pp. 111-115; Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics VIII 236-340; Medieval India Quarterly Vol. I Part I pp. 10-25.
 3. The following accounts of the Raushaniyah movement are available in English. J. Leyden, "On the Roshaniyah Sect and its founder, Bayazid Ansari" in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI; Journal of Indian History Vol. XXIX Part I; Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1941.

of Sufis.¹ This dissertation is a modest contribution in that direction.

Large number of theories have been propounded about the origin of the mystic ideas in Islam.² Neoplatonism, Christianity, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Hinduism etc. have been mentioned as sources of Islamic mysticism. No human thought develops in a vacuum. It would, therefore, be unhistorical to say that Islamic mysticism developed in isolation, without imbibing the ideas of other similar cults and creeds. Eminent modern authorities on Islamic mysticism have held the view that the germination of the mystic attitude in Islam may be traced back to the Quran and the sunnah.³ But, when the sufi movement spread to different lands it adopted and imbibed the religious ideas and practices of many other religions. It will be difficult to consider any ^{study of the} Muslim mystic movement in India as complete if it ignores the impact of the Indian environment and the influence of Hindu religious ideas.

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1. Only the following two articles have been published on the Shattari saints, K.A.Nizami, The Shattari silsilah and its attitude towards the state in Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.I Part 2 pp. 56-71; Hasan Askari, Malfuz-i-Rukn ud-din.
 2. For different theories, vide The Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol.IV, Massignon's article on Tasawwuf. For a thought-provoking analysis of the impact of India on Muslim mysticism, see Dr.Tara Chand's article Indian Sources of Islamic Mysticism in Medieval India Quarterly Vol.V No.I.
 3. There are a number of verses in the Quran which can only be interpreted mystically. So far as the mystic ways—seclusion, penances, meditation and devotion to Allah—are concerned, the Prophet himself is reported to have practised them. He used to retire to the cave of Hira for sometime every year. Seventy people, known as Ahl-i-Suffah, devoted all their time to religious contemplation in the mosque of the Prophet. For details, Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht p.16 et seq.

because the development which a religion assumes in any country depends upon its cultural tradition and national character. The Shattari silsilah occupies a unique place in the history of Indo-Muslim mystical thought from this point of view. No other Muslim mystic order in India made a more strenuous effort to adapt itself to the Indian milieu than the Shattari silsilah. It adopted many elements of the Hindu mysticism and helped in the growth of a common mystical outlook in India.

Many individual Muslim mystic teachers entered India and started propagating mystic ideas long before the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. History and tradition have preserved the names of some of the saint of this early period. Shaikh Safiuddin Gazruni¹, Shaikh Ismail², Shaikh Ali Hajweri³, Taj Faqih⁴, Salar Masud⁵ and Miran Mulhim⁶ are some of the outstanding figures in the annals of early Indo Muslim mysticism. They exercised great influence on the contemporary religious life but they could not initiate any large scale movement for ^{the} spiritual culture of the

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1. According to Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi it was Shaikh Safiuddin Gazruni who laid the foundations of the city of Uchch. (Akhbar-ul-Akhyar p1 205).
 2. Tadhkira Ulama-i-Hind p. 23.
 3. The famous author of Kashf al-Mahjub. For biographical account based on autobiographical data, see Nicholson's translation of Kashful Mahjub (Introduction).
 4. See Gulzar-i-Abrar (RG.)
 5. According to Siauddin Barani he was soldier in the army of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 491.
 6. See Kanz ut Tawarikh by Raziuddin Bismil (a History of Badaon). p. 51.

people as a whole. It was in the 12th century that, with the rise of the mystic orders, a new phase began in the history of Islamic mysticism. The age of the Quietists (as Nicholson calls the early Muslim mystics) and the garohs (or groups, as Shaikh Ali Hajweri calls the early mystic schools) came to an end and the mystic teachers started organising silsilahs on a large scale. With the organisation of the silsilahs the Muslim mystic movement entered the most important phase of its history and transformed itself into a mass movement for the moral and spiritual upliftment of the people.

Asul Fadi has referred to the following fourteen mystic orders that have worked in India:

1. Habibiyyah founded by Shaikh Habib 'Ajami
2. Taifuriyyah founded by Shaikh Bayazid Taifur Bistami
3. Karkhiyyah founded by Khawajah Maroof Karkhi
4. Saqatiyyah founded by Shaikh Abul Hasan Sari Saqati
5. Junaidiyyah founded by Shaikh Junaid Baghdadi
6. Gazruniyyah founded by Shaikh Abu Ishaq bin Shahryar
7. Tusiyah founded by Shaikh Ala u'd-din Tusi
8. Firdousiyyah founded by Shaikh Najm u'd-din Kubra
9. Suhrawardiyyah founded by Shaikh Najib u'd-din Abd-al-qahir Suhrawardi
10. Zaidiyyah founded by Abdul Wahid bin Zaid
11. Ayaziah founded by Shaikh Fudail bin Ayas
12. Kubraviyyah founded by Khawajah Kubara-al-Basari
13. Adhamiyyah, founded by Shaikh Ibrahim Adham
14. Chishtiyyah founded by Shaikh Abu Ishaq Shami¹

1. A'in-i-Akbari Vol. II pp. 203-204.

But this list is defective in certain respects. While it includes sub-branches of the mystic orders in the category of well — organised silsilahs, it excludes some very important silsilahs like the Shattari order from the list. The reasons for this omissions were rather personal. Abul Fadl was, as I have explained in the following chapters, ill-disposed towards some of the outstanding saints of the order and hence his complete omission of any reference to this order which had become sufficiently popular in the 16th century, as is clear from the Babur Namah, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and other contemporary and later works. However, in order to understand and appreciate the place of the Shattari silsilah in the history of Indo-Muslim mysticism, it is necessary to make brief survey of the developments before the advent of the Shattari silsilah. The two most important silsilahs which reached India almost simultaneously with the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi were the Chishti¹ and the Suhrawardi² orders. Shaikh Muinuddin Sijzi planted the Chishtiyah order in the heart of

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1. Biographical accounts of the early Chishti saints are found in Siyar ul Auliya of Mir Khurd Kirmani. The Fawa'id ul Fu'ad and the Khair-ul-Majalis give a fairly accurate idea of the Chishti mystic ideology. For an account of the Chishti silsilah see, The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New edition) pp.50-56. Prof.M.Habib has made a critical assessment of the Chishti mystic records in Medieval India Quarterly Vol.I No.2 pp.1-42.
 2. Biographical accounts of the early Suhrawardi saints are found in Siyar ul-'Arifin of Maulana Jamali and the Akhbar ul-Akhbar of Shaikh Abdul Haqq. The most outstanding work on the Suhrawardi ideology is the 'Awarif ul Ma'arif of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. Malfuzat collections of several Suhrawardi saints, particularly Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdumi Jahawian are available.

Rajputana, before the battle of Tarain.¹ The Suhrawardi silsilah was established in Multan by Shaikh BahauddinDakkarriya,² a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Shihab u'd-din Suhrawardi. Though many³ disciples of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi like Sayyid Mubarak Ghaznavi,⁴ Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi,⁵ qadi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri⁶ and others, had come to India and settled at different places but none of them succeeded in organising the order so effectively as Shaikh BahauddinDakkarriya. The Suhrawardi silsilah established itself mainly in Sind and parts of the Punjab. Its main centres remained only Multan and Uchch. While the descendants of Shaikh BahauddinDakkarriya, Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Arif, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din and others — lived and worked in Multan, another branch rose up at Uchch and after the death of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din eclipsed the Multan branch of the silsilah. The Uchch branch produced saints like Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian⁷ who was held in deep respect by the Tughluq Sultans of Delhi.

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1. Siyar ul Auliya pp. 45-48.
 2. Very significant information about his Khanqah—its huge building, gravaries and coffers — has been supplied by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Fawa'id ul Fu'ad pp.5,105,223.
 3. Akhbar ul Akhyar p. 36.
 4. For brief notices, see Fawa'id ul-Fu'ad p.193; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Barani pp. 41-44; Akhbarul Akhyar pp. 28-29.
 5. Originally a disciple of Shaikh Abu Said Tabrizi, he later on attached himself with Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. For brief biographical references, Fawa'id ul Fu'ad pp.31,113,144; Khair-ul-Majalis pp. 79-80; 191-193; Siyar-ul-'Arifin, pp. 164-171.
 6. For brief references, Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad pp. 128-241; Futuh-us-Salatn, Isami pp.114; Siyar-ul-'Arifin, pp.147-151.
 7. For brief account, Afif's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi pp.514-516; Akhbar ul Akhyar pp. 139-140.

The Chishti silsilah spread practically in the whole of northern India and was later extended to the South also.¹ The eminent saints of its first cycle — Shaikh Qutb u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki,² Shaikh Farid u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar,³ Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya⁴ and Shaikh Nasir u'd-din Chiragh⁵ transformed the silsilah into an all India organisation and people from different parts of the country began to flock to the Chishti Jama'at Khanahs. The whole of northern India, in course of time, became studded with the Chishti Khānqāhs and Jamā^ut Khānāhs. A fourteenth century Arab writer informs us that there were two thousand Khānqāhs in Delhi alone.⁶

It was a strange coincidence that the central organisations of these two silsilahs — the chishtiyah and the Suhrawardiyah —

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1. It was mainly through the disciples of Shaikh Nizam u'd-din Auliya that the Chishti silsilah spread in the various provinces of India. Some of them had taken up their residence in provincial towns at the instance of their master; others were forced by Muhammad b. Tughluq to settle there. Akhi Siraj introduced the silsilah in Bengal; Shaikh Burhan u'd-din Gharib in the Deccan; Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Husam u'd-din in Gujarat; and Shaikh Wajih u'd-din Yusuf in Malwa.
 2. Brief biographical accounts in Siyar-ul-Auliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin.
 3. For biographical account, The Life & Times of Shaikh Farid u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, K.A.Nizami.
 4. For biographical details Siyar-ul-Auliya, for teachings, Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad, may be consulted.
 5. For his life and teachings, Shaikh Nasir u'd-din Chiragh as a great historical personality by Prof. Habib in Islamic Culture, April 1946.
 6. Subh ul-'Asha, al-Qalqashandi, English trans. by O. Spies An Arab Account of India in the 14th century p. 29.

began to disintegrate almost simultaneously with the decline of the Sultanate of Delhi. By the end of the 14th century the Chishti and the Suhrawardi silsilahs had completed their first phase of activity in India. General political decadence, departure from the traditions of the earlier saints and the policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq towards the mystics accelerated the pace of decline. Shaikh Nasir u'd-din Chiragh sadly remarked in the closing years of his life:

امروز شنی بازی بچگان شرا

Shaikh Nasir u'd-din Chiragh-i-Delhi was the last great saint of the first cycle of the Chishti silsilah who strove to hold fast to the old traditions of the Chishti order.² After him all these traditions were ignored. The Chishti mystics began to mix with the rulers and the bureaucracy and started perpetuating succession in their own families.

When the provincial kingdoms were established in India many of the Chishti saints joined hands with the founders of the new ruling dynasties. They gave them moral support in the consolidation of their power and the rulers, in return, granted to them large jagirs and put up palacial buildings for their Khānqāhs.

1. Akhbar ul Akhyar, p. 82.

2. His teachings as recorded in Khair-ul-Majalis reveal him as the last great Saint of the Chishti order who strove hard to preserve the principles of the earlier saints about the mystic attitude towards wealth, state and politics. His relations with Muhammad bin Tughluq were extremely bitter. He, however, did not care for the Sultan and as Professor Habib remarks: he was "One man against an Empire". (Islamic Culture, April 1946 p. 142).

Another silsilah which had come almost at the same time as the chishti and the Suhrawardi silsilahs was the Firdausi order. It was introduced in India by Shaikh Badr u'd-din of Samarqand.¹ But its most important saint was Shaikh Sharf u'd-din Yahya of Maner.² The Firdausi silsilah, however, remained confined to Bihar. The Shattari silsilah was established in India in the middle of the fifteenth century, when the two major silsilahs — the Chishtiyah and the Suhrawardiyah — had declined and the qadiriya order was just trying to establish itself in the Punjab. The fifteenth century was, both from the political and the religious points of view, a period of great significance in the history of India. On one side it saw the rise and fall of a number of provincial kingdoms and on the other, the emergence of numerous religious and mystic movements. It was during this period that eminent thinkers of the Bhakti cult — Kabir, Nanak, Chaitaniya, Ram Das, Nama Deva, Pipsa ^{and Sena filled the entire atmosphere with ideas of} social equality and devotion to God. Their circle of disciples might have remained limited but the impact of their ideas on the mind of people was tremendous. The Mehdavi movement also appeared at this time, and its main figures preached a life of religious dedication and contemplation. Probably in no period of Indian history so much literature on various aspects of religion was produced in different languages as at this time. The Shattari

1. Akhbar - ul-Akhyar p. 115.

2. For brief biographical account, Akhbar-ul-Akhyar pp. 113-117. His collections of maktubat are a valuable source of information for the mystic ideology of the sultanate period.

silsilah was, the product of the same mental climate which had produced the Bhakti saints and thinkers. For about a century and a half the Shattari silsilah played an important role in the religious life of the Indian Muslims. It spread in parts of U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Malwa and Guj^urat and attracted a very large number of followers and supporters. That it could not take the place of all-India mystic orders — the Chishtiyah and the Suhrawardiyah — was to a very large extent due to the political conditions then operating in the country. An all-India order could flourish only if there existed a centralized political organisation. Its centres were set up at many important towns of the provincial kingdoms but no coordinated central control was possible due to the political rivalries and jealousies existing between the different provincial kingdoms. The Shattari silsilah had passed the meridian of its glory when Akbar's power was established in the whole of northern India. The silsilah lost its hold when the Naqshbandi order appeared and challenged its tolerant views and cosmopolitan outlook.

If the history of the Indo-Muslim mysticism is surveyed as a whole it would appear that there have been two types of Muslim religious movements.

1. Religious movements representing the orthodox line of thought. Movements which come under this category emphasise the external aspect of the religion and believed in formal, static and rigid approach towards all problems of religion. The Suhrawardi and the Naqshbandi orders represent this approach towards religion and society.

2. Religious orders which believed in the liberal and catholic approach towards all problems of religion and society. They interpreted religion in terms of love of God and service of humanity and adopted a very dynamic and catholic attitude towards other cults and creeds. They emphasised the spirit rather than the letter of the law. They looked down upon all discriminations and distinctions in human society whether on the basis of caste, colour or creed. Believer in pantheistic monism as they were, they believed in the essential unity of all religions.

The Shattari silsilah, along with such mystic orders as the Chishtiyah, the Qadiriya, and Firdausiyah belongs to the second category. Its saints believed in emphasizing the inter-
orization in religious rites and interpreted religion in the broadest terms. On one side it represents the highest development of those syncretic trends which had been released by the Chishti and the Bhakti saints and on the other side it represents direct contrast and antithesis to the religious and political outlook of the Naqshbandis.¹ In fact Dara Shikoh, Miyan Mir and Mullah Shah, though associated formally with the Qadiriya order, were more directly influenced and derived more ideological sustenance from

1. The Naqshbandi saints of India under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, rejected the theory of Wahdat ul-Wujud (unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world), preached isolation from all non-Muslims and firmly eliminated all non-Muslims elements from the mystic life and practices. Besides they sought to influence the Mughal rulers in order to bring them to their point of view. Their attitude of isolation was the direct antithesis of the mystical attitude of the Shattaris who aimed at effecting a synthesis of the Hindu and the Muslim mystical attitudes.

the Shattari silsilah than the qadiri silsilah. The Majmaul Bahrain of Dara Shikoh is a logical outgrowth of the Shattari impact on Muslim religious thought. Its only earlier link in Indo-Muslim history is the Bahr-ul-Hayat of Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth. The Bahrul Hayat is not merely a translation of Amrit Kund as it is generally supposed to be. It is a much higher and a much more important work. It transforms Hindu mystic ideas in sufi parlance, a task which had not been attempted or achieved by any preceding mystic.

The Shattari silsilah, which played such an important role in the history of India during the 15th and 16th centuries, has for the first time been made the subject of an intensive study. Barring a brief notice of a few lines in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and two short articles by Prof.K.A.Nizami and Prof.Hasan Askari nothing has so far been written on the Shattaris. The history of the silsilah extends to different regions — Jaunpur, Bihar, Assam, Malwah, Gujarat and the Deccan. An attempt has been made to construct as complete a picture of the lives and activities of the Shattari saints belonging to these regions, as our records permit. The impact of the Shattaries on the religious and social life of the country has been thoroughly investigated and their relations with the state have been carefully examined. The ideology of the silsilah and its synthetic and syncretic elements have been brought out. The biographical account of the Shattari saints have been prepared with great caution. The legendary coatings round the persons of the Shattari saints have been removed and their biographical accounts have been prepared

after a careful and critical scrutiny of the available hagiological literature. No English work has so far seen the light of the day on the history of the Shattari silsilah in India. In this respect this work claims to be an humble contribution to the existing knowledge about the Muslim religious movements of the middle ages.

A detailed account of the sources on which this study is based is given in Appendix 'A'.

C H A P T E R I

SHAIKH 'ABDULLAH SHATTĀRI AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SILSILAH IN INDIA

The Shattāri silsilah was introduced in India early in the fifteenth century by Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattāri. As the pioneer - saint of a mystic movement, he ranks among such eminent personalities as Khwājah Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer (ob. 1236) and Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Dhakariyya of Multan (ob. 1262 A.D.), though his silsilah could not attain that widespread popularity and influence which the Chishti or the Suhrawardi silsilahs have enjoyed through the ages.

Shaikh 'Abdullah was a native of Khurāsān. He claimed his descent from the great mystic teacher of the 13th century, Shaikh Shihāb u'd-din 'Umar Suhrawardi.¹ Nothing is known about

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1. Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.) was an eminent saint of the Suhrawardi order which was founded by his uncle Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi (ob. 1169 A.D.). His best known works are the 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'arif' and the 'Kashf-u'l-Nasa'ih-u'l-Imaniyah wa-Kashf-u'l-Fada'ih-u'l-Yunaniyah'. For brief biographical account see Nafahat u'l-Uns p. 420.

Shaikh 'Abdullah was related to him as follows: Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattāri b. Shaikh Husām-u'd-din b. Rashid-u'd-din b. Dia u'd-din b. Najm u'd-din b. Jamāl u'd-din b. Shihāb-u'd-din 'Umar Suhrawardi. This genealogy is given in the following works. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah (MS.) f. 7; Ma'adin u'l-Asrār (MS.) f. 8; Gulzar-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 101; Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt (MS.) Vol. II p. 542.

his early life or his activities before he came to India.¹ We know only this much that he had received spiritual training from Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif,² Shaikh Muzaffar Kitāni of Nishāpur³ and Sayyid 'Ali Muwāhid of Azerbaijān, — all of whom were very well-known figures in their respective regions. Shaikh Kitāni was an erudite scholar and a pious mystic of Nishāpur. He had the reputation of initiating a novice in the intricacies of mystic discipline within a few days.⁴ He lived in a mountain-cave completely cut off from society. Undeterred by the hazards of a long mountaneous journey, Shaikh 'Abdullah somehow reached Shaikh Muzaffar and insisted on receiving spiritual training from him. His stay with him was, however, very short, though his spiritual progress was closely watched by the Shaikh. Somehow Shaikh 'Abdullah could not develop permanent attachment

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1. Our information about the early life of the founder of the Chishti order in India, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Sijzi, is equally scanty and whatever is available in later accounts is mostly based on legends and fictions.
 2. Manba'-u'l-Ansab, (MS.); Majalis-u'l-Ushshāq, (MS.) f.9; , Risalah-i-Halat-i-Qalandariyah, (MS.) f.13; Usul-u'l-Maqsud, (MS.) f.27.
Chahar Pir-wā-Chahārdeh Khānwadeh (MS.) f.9; Tazkirat-u'l-Fuqara p.39. In Ma'arij-u'l-Wālayat (MS. Vol.II, pp.542-543) his spiritual genealogy is given as follows: Shaikh Muhammad Taifur, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq, Shaikh Khuda Quli of Transoxiana, Khawājah Abul Hasan Khirqāni, Khawājah Abul Muzaffar Maulana Turk Tusi, Khawājah Abu Yazid 'Ishqi, Khawājah Muhammad Maghribi, Ba Yazid Bistāmi, Imam Ja'far Sadiq. The table given by Gulzār-i-Abrār (f.101) does not contain the name of Shaikh Muhammad Taifur.
 3. Shaikh Muzaffar was a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra (ob.1226 A.D.). His spiritual genealogy is as follows: Shaikh Ibrahim 'Ishqabadi, Sayyid Nizām u'd-din Husain, Shaikh Muhammad Khilwati, Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh (MS.) f.10; Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f.101.
 4. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār (MS.) f. 55.

with Shaikh Kitāni and returned to his old master, Shaikh'Arif.

Later he visited Shaikh Muwāhid who was an eminent khālifah of Shaikh Zain-u'd-din Abū Bakr Khwāfi¹ and was known for his knowledge of the esoteric discipline as well as his mastery over the Aḥadith literature (Traditions of the Prophet). He stayed with him for a long time and took lessons from him in mysticism.² Subsequently he obtained his permission to return to Shaikh 'Arif and receive his advanced instructions in mysticism from him.

Shaikh 'Arif was lavishly endowed by nature with what the mystics call nafs-i-gira, intuitive intelligence which could comprehend, control and direct the spiritual talent of the disciples. He discerned in Shaikh 'Abdullah a person who could effectively organise an spiritual order and popularize its teachings within a short time. He conferred upon him the title Shāttār and asked him to undertake travels in different lands and announce by the beat of drums at every place he happened to visit.

اگر کسی طالب خدا باشد بیاید من به خدا میرسانم³

(If there is any seeker of Allah, he may come to me.
I will guide him to Allah).

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1. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh (MS.) f.14; Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f.101. For short biographical account of Shaikh Zain-u'd-din Khwāfi, see Nafahat-u'l-Uns pp. 441-444.
 2. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah (MS.) f.14; Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f.101.
 3. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār (MS.) f.55; Risālah-i-Ibrahimi (MS.) f.26; Mir'at-u'l-Asrār (MS.) f.72; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar p. 171

Muhammad Ghauthi writes that Shaikh 'Abdullah used to announce at every place he happened to visit: "If any one knows the meaning of Kalimah-i-Tauhid (Islamic formula of faith) better than myself, he should teach it to me; if not, he should come and learn it from me." Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f.102

Following the instructions of his master, Shaikh 'Abdúllah undertook extensive travels in Muslim lands. He roamed all over 'Irāq, Khúrasan, Azerbaijan and other important centres of Muslim culture and came into contact with men of different types and temperaments and acquired intimate knowledge of the condition of Muslim society in the fifteenth century.

He differed from the contemporary mystics in many respects. While the Muslim mystics generally believed in living a life of penury and penitence, Shaikh 'Abdullah lived with great pomp and eclat. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi writes about him:

سطوت شوكت ظاهر و باطن داشت¹

(He possessed both external and internal grandeur and majesty).

The súfis of the middle ages looked upon itineracy as an integral part of the spiritual education of the traveller himself.² But Shaikh 'Abdullah did not travel for the sake of his own spiritual perfection. His travels were intended to educate others. Another interesting feature which distinguished him from all other mystics was that he donned himself in the royal dress, while his disciples who followed him on his mystic itineraries put on military uniform.³ This army of murids marched with banners and drums. No other saint of any Muslim mystic order

1. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 169.

2. Misbāh-u'l-Hidayah, p. 204.

3. Risālah-i-Qādin Shāttār, (MS.) f. 6;
Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 102.

is known to have lived and moved in this manner. Another unusual practice of the saint was that before delivering discourses he ordered all disbel^eivers to quit his audience.¹ Whenever anybody approached him with the request to admit him into his discipline, he ordered food to be served and then he watched the visitor's actions carefully. Those who finished the bread and the gravy simultaneously were blessed with favours, the rest were treated as unwise and were ignored. It was after a severe test of the mental and moral calibre of a visitor that he initiated him in his mystic discipline.²

Shaikh 'Abdullah arrived in India at a time when the Sultanate of Delhi was fast declining and centrifugal tendencies were working not only in the political but in the spiritual sphere also. The mystic orders had ceased to function as all-India institutions and khānqāhs of provincial and often of local importance had taken the place of the khānqāhs of country-wide fame and importance. The Chishti order of mystics which had a highly integrated central structure lost its former position and provincial khānqāhs were set up in provincial towns, independent of all central control. Old ideologies and traditions were found embarrassing in the new circumstances and were thrown overboard.

1. Risālāh-i-Qādin, Shattār, (MS.) f. 6;
Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 169.

2. Risālāh-i-Qādin Shattār, (MS.) f. 6;
Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 169; Akhbār-u'l-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 65.

1. The comfortable theory was expounded that mystics should consort with kings, governors and high officers in order to influence them for good. State endowments were accepted and, in return, spiritual blessings and moral support was given to the founders of the new provincial dynasties.
2. The principle of hereditary succession was introduced in the mystic sphere. It sapped the vitality of the mystic organizations and injected the virus of hereditary conflicts and tensions in spiritual life.
3. Early mystics had enjoined firmness of faith in one spiritual master (yak dar geer wa muhkam gir : Hold one door and hold it fast), but in the 15th century a mystic was never satisfied with one master. He would frequently change his masters and bend his knees at as many doors as possible. This divided spiritual allegiance cramped the growth of integrated spiritual personalities and, as was natural, the mystic organizations came to be controlled by men of smaller stature.
4. In the earlier period no spiritual teacher owned allegiance to more than one spiritual order and he trained and tutored his disciples according to the ideology of that particular school, but in the 15th and the 16th centuries the same Shaikh used to train disciples according to different ideologies and claimed to possess authority to admit disciples into different silsilahs. This was an impossible task as

the ideologies of the various silsilahs were different and the same Shaikh could not demonstrate to his followers the working of contradictory principles in his life. This innovation reduced mystic discipline to a dead formality — nay, apart from integrating one's thought, it disintegrated it all the more. When Shaikh 'Abdullah introduced the Shattāri order in India there was widespread religious anarchy in the country. Viewed from one angle it was an age of "intellectual anarchy" and looked at from another it was an age of "intellectual freedom." There was a mushroom growth of new sects, new philosophies and new schools, of thought. The old moorings were discarded and adventures were made in new realms of thought. This was the age of the Raushānyāhs, the Mehdāvis and the Shattāris.

No detailed account of Shaikh 'Abdullah's travel in India is available. He is first introduced to us at Jaunpur. How he was received at Multan, Lahore, Delhi or other important mystic centres of northern India - which he must have visited on his way to Jaunpur - is not stated in contemporary or even later accounts. However, he was cordially received at Jaunpur and large number of people joined his order.¹ Gradually his reputation reached the ears of Sūltān Ibrāhīm Sharqī (1401-1440).

1. Risālah-i-Qadīn Shattār (MS.) f.7;
Risālah-i-Ibrāhīmī (MS.) f. 177.

But his military outfit created suspicion in the mind of the Sultān who had to defend his throne against many enemies open and secret. To permit a semi-military group of religious men to settle permanently in Jaunpur was to court a danger for which he was not prepared. Once the Sultān met Shaikh 'Abdullah and insisted that he should give evidence of his spiritual powers by performing some miracles.¹ Shaikh 'Abdullah felt insulted at this request and decided to leave Jaunpur. He migrated to Sūrhu'rpūr² where a local galandar of great influence, Shaikh Da'ud, joined the circle of his disciples. From there he proceeded to Manikpur,³ but could not achieve any appreciable success there. Shaikh Husam-u'd-din,⁴ Raji Hamid Shāh⁵ and Shāh Sayyid⁶ — three influential saints of Manikpur — were

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1. Risālah-i-Qadin Shattār (MS.) f. 7; Risālah-i-Ibrahimi (MS.) f. 179, Ma'arij-u'l-Wdāyat (MS.) Vol. II p. 545.
 2. Sūrhu'rpūr is a parganah in the Akbarpūr Tahsil of the Fyzabad district. The place which gives its name to the parganah is a village of no great size, lying in latitude 26° 15' north and longitude 80° 40' east on the southern boundary of the district. The place is built on the banks of the Majhoi river and through it runs the road from Fyzabad to Jaunpur. District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Fyzabad) Vol. XLIII pp. 272, 273.
 3. Manikpur is at a distance of six miles from Daranagar in the Sirathu Tahsil. United Provinces Gazetteers, Vol. XXIII (D) (Allahabad District) page XXX, X i, x Iii, Appendix p. xIvii.
 4. Shaikh Husām-u'd-din was an eminent disciple and khalifah of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i-Alam, a distinguished Chishtī saint of Pandwa in Bengal. For biographical account, see Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 169, 170, 171; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 63, 64.
 5. He was a disciple and khalifah of Shaikh Husām-u'd-din Manikpuri. See Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 186, 187.
 6. His original name was Shāh Saidu but he became known as Sayyid Wālihā. He was a disciple of Shaikh Husām-u'd-din Manikpuri. See Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār p. 186.

particularly invited by him to meet him but they received the invitation when they were busy in an audition party (Sama'). They were so deeply overpowered by emotions at that moment that they had even given their clothes to the musicians.¹ When they received the invitation of a traveller-saint they discussed the desirability of accepting it. After some deliberation and hesitation they decided to pay a visit to Shaikh 'Abdullah. A disciple brought a bed-cover for Shaikh Husam-u'd-din who cut it into three pieces and gave one piece each to his two disciples who covered their bodies with it. While on his way to the house of Shaikh 'Abdullah a disciple presented a basket of betel leaves to Shaikh Husam-u'd-din who put it on his head in order to present it to Shaikh 'Abdullah. When Shaikh 'Abdullah heard about the arrival of these distinguished saints, he came out to receive them. They sat under a cluster of trees and discussed various religious problems. Shaikh 'Abdullah, however, failed to impress Shaikh Husam-u'd-din.²

Failing to achieve any great success at Mānikpur, Shaikh 'Abdullah proceeded towards Bengal. One of the prominent figures of that region at that time was Muhammad 'Ala Qādīn. Shaikh 'Abdullah, as was his practice, invited him to join his order. Muhammad 'Ala declined the invitation with the contemptuous remark: "Cheats come from Khurāsān very often." Shaikh 'Abdullah

1. Risalah-i-Qādin Shattār, (MS.) f. 7; Mirat-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 354; Risalah-i-Ibrāhimi, (MS.) ff. 177, 178.

2. Risalah-i-Qādin Shattār, (MS.) f. 8; Mir'at-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 354; Risalah-i-Ibrāhimi, (MS.) f. 178.

naturally felt insulted and humiliated at this arrogant remark. "Search for a mystic-guide would one day bring him to my door," he remarked with great confidence.¹

Shaikh 'Abdullah later on reached Ekdālah and started his mission there. Here too he did not achieve any success. He now decided to go to Mālwah.² When he reached Chittor in circa 846 A.H./1442 A.D., he found Sultān Mahmud Khalji and his son, Ghiyāth-u'd-din, besieging the fortress of Chittor. Interpreting the arrival of a saint as a happy omen, the Sultān extended a warm welcome to him. Fortunately the Sultān succeeded in his campaign. He attributed this to the presence of the Shaikh and developed great faith in him.

Shaikh 'Abdullah who had not been able to attract the attention of the Sharqi Sultāns succeeded in establishing intimate relations with the rulers of Mālwah and set up the first Shattāri khānqāh in Mandu. Like most of the provincial kingdoms of the fifteenth century, each of which had a patron-saint, the rulers of Mālwah also attached themselves with the Shattāri silsilah. Muhammad Ghauthi informs us that the saint had developed so great regard for Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-din Khalji that he

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1. Risālah-i-Qadin Shattār, (MS.) f.8; Mir'at-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f.354; Risālah-i-Ibrāhimi, (MS.) f. 178.

The author of Risālah-i-Gulzār-i-Ibrāhimi makes an incorrect statement when he says that Shaikh 'Abdullah met Shaikh Qadin at Jaunpur. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 37.

2. Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abdullah says that Shaikh 'Abdullah had proceeded to Mālwah from Jaunpur (Ma'arij-u'l-Wālayat, MS.Vol. II p. 546). But this is not correct. From Jaunpur Shaikh 'Abdullah went to Manikpur and from there to Ekdālah as the Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS. f. 37) says.

even dedicated him risālah, Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah, to him. This was of mutual benefit,.. The saint gave moral support and blessings to the ruler who, in return, relieved the saint of all material worries and provided such conditions that he passed the closing years of his life in affluent circumstances.

Shaikh 'Abdullah died in Mandu in 890 AH./1485 A.D.¹ and was buried near the tombs of the Khalji rulers of Mālwah. Early in the 17th century a dome was constructed over his grave at the order of Jahāngir who had visited it along with Shāh Pir² of Meerut.³

The Ilm-i-Shattār:

A detailed account of the teachings of the Shattāri silsilah is given in a separate chapter. Here a brief reference may be made to some of the mystic principles and ideas of Shaikh 'Abdullah as the whole ideological structure of the Shattāri silsilah was built on these principles.

Shaikh 'Abdullah has explained his mystic thought in his book, Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, a small tract comprising seventeen chapters⁴ dealing with such topics as nafs, suluk, tauba, Dhikr fana fil Shaikh etc.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.102; Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p.174; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 583.
 2. For his biographical account see Chapter IV.
 3. Ma'arij-u'l-Wilāyāt, (MS.) Vol. II p. 546; Risalah-i-Ibrahimi, (MS.) f. 179.
 4. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 2a.

Shaikh 'Abdūllah believed that the goal of all mystics whatever their spiritual affiliation was the same, i.e. to attain gnosis (ma'rifat), but their methods to achieve it were different. There were, according to him, three principal seekers after Truth - the Akhyār, the Abrār and the Shāttārs.¹ They had their own mashrabs (ways of attaining the objective). The path adopted by the Shāttārs was the shortest and the quickest² because it made a man's soul responsive to divine messages. As he intended to write a small brochure, he did not deal with the disciplines and methods of the Akhyār and the Abrār and confined his discussion to the 'ilm-i-Shāttāra alone. According to him the special features of the mashrab-i-Shāttār were the following:

- (1) The Shāttāri mashrab made the attainment of spiritual objective easier by simplifying the course of mystic discipline. It did not recommend penitences or mujāhidāt.³ He, therefore, calls it ⁴ اليسر الطرق (easiest of tariqāhs).
- (2) The Shāttāri discipline emphasized, the cultivation of cosmic emotion ('ishq) which made mushāhidah (vision of God) possible within a short span of time.
- (3) It attached greater importance to esoteric conditions (ahwāl) than to external practices (a'mal).

1. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 2a.
2. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 2b.
3. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 4a.
4. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 6b.

- (4) No spiritual progress was possible without the active help and intercession of the pir. Hence a seeker had to merge his individuality into the personality of the Shaikh (fana fil Shaikh). Implicit faith in the Shaikh and complete obedience to his orders was, therefore, the first condition of the mystic discipline.¹
- (5) Another very important and significant aspect of the mystic thought of Shaikh 'Abdullah was his hatred of exclusiveness. He inculcated liberal thinking in his disciples and advised them to follow the Shāṭṭārī path strictly and sincerely but not to develop contemptuous attitude towards other mystic cults and silsilahs. As a Muslim who shows disrespect to any prophet, he used to say, becomes a sinner of shari'at, one who shows disrespect to mystics of other cults becomes a sinner of tariqat. Besides, the Shaikh refrained from making any discriminations between people on the basis of faith. Discarding the prevalent terminology of Muslim and Mushrik, or mumin and kāfir, he divided all men into sālik-i-Hālik and sālik-i-wāsil. Under the first category he placed all those who worshipped symbols, like stone, water, sun or moon. Those who loved Reality and did not worship the phenomena of nature in any form or shape

1. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f. 6b.

were designated as sālik-i-Wāsil. He believed that since both aimed at the same goal, mere difference of ways did not matter. This catholicity in the outlook of the Shaikh influenced the later generations of the silsilah so deeply that they developed cordial relations with all non-Muslims.

Spiritual descendants of :
Shaikh 'Abdullah. :

Shaikh 'Abdullah Shāṭṭārī appointed two principal successors to continue the work of propagating the teachings of the Shāṭṭārī silsilah - Shaikh Hāfiz of Jaunpur¹ and Shaikh Muḥammad 'Ala' of Bengal.² Very little is known about the life or activities of Shaikh Hāfiz. His disciple and Khālifāh, Shaikh Buddhān Shāṭṭārī,³ was, however, a very popular figure during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). The author of Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār informs us that he was a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdullāh Shāṭṭārī.⁴ No hagiological work supplies any detailed information about him but his eminence may be estimated from the fact that an eminent scholar and historian like Shaikh Rīzq Ullah

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 131.

2. See the next Chapter.

3. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 191; Waqi'at-i-Mushtāqī, (RG.) f. 99; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 131; Ma'arij-u'l-Wdlāyat, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 569, 570; Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahānī, (MS.) p. 214.

4. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 194 - 195.

Mushtāqi¹ was one of his devoted disciples.

²
Shaikh Rizq Ullah was born in 897 A.H./1491 A.D. He was the uncle of the celebrated traditionist of Delhi, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq (ob. 1051 A.H./1641 A.D.). In his early years he was associated with Shaikh Muhammad Mangan,³ but later on he joined the circle of Shaikh Buddhan's disciples.⁴

Shaikh Rizq Ullah was known for his vast erudition. He was well-versed in 'Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. The author of Subh-i-Gulshan says that he had even acquired mastery over the sciences of the Hindus.⁵ This knowledge of the Hindu Science was in keeping with the traditions of his silsilah. Besides, he was a fulgent poet and composed verses in Hindi under the nome de plume of Ranjan and in Persian under the nome de plume of Mushtāqi. His two Hindi works - Paiman and Jot Niranjan —

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1. For his biographical account see the following books: Waqi'at-i-Mushtāqi, (RG.); Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 167, 168; Subh-i-Gulshan, (MS.) p. 413; Zubdat-al-Tawarikh, (MS.); Kalimat-u'l-Sādiqin, (MS.) p. 39; Riyad-al-Auliya; Sawāti-u'l-Anwār; Hayāt-i-'Abdul Haqq, pp. 59, 60, 61.
 2. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 168.
 3. He was an eminent Chishti saint and lived at Malwah, near Qannauj. His spiritual mentor Shāh Jalāl Gujrati was associated with the order of Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Dārāz of Gulbarah. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq says that due to his piety he had become known as Misbāh-u'l-'Ashiqin (Lamp or guide of the lovers). For brief biographical account see Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 168-169. See also Subh-i-Gulshan, (MS.) p. 413.
 4. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 191; Subh-i-Gulshan, (MS.) p. 413; Hayāt-i-'Abdul Haqq, p. 60.
 5. "در کتب طبعه هندوان مہارتے کامل داشت"
Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 413.

have been particularly noted by Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq but they are not available now.¹ His collection of historical anecdotes, Waqi'at-i-Mushtāqi, is a very informative work on the Afghān and the Mughāl rulers of the period. Rizq Ullah died on 20th Rab. I in 989² A.H./1581 A.D.

1. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 167.

2. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 168.

CHAPTER II

EXPANSION OF THE SILSILAH UNDER SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ALA

The second great centre of the Shāṭṭārī silsilah after Mandu was established at Vaisali, a place of great historic importance, by a distinguished khalifāh of Shaikh 'Abdullah, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala'¹ Qādin al-Manerī al-Tirhuti al-Hashimī. It was from Vaisali that the silsilah spread far and wide and its hospices came to be established at a number of places in Bihar and Bengal. He was a lineal descendant of the eminent

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1. Biographical references are found in the following works: Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) ff. 35, 36, 37, 45, 59, 60, 100, 132, 135, 136; Awṣad-i-Qādin Shāṭṭār, (MS.) p. 3; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 128, 129; Ma'arij-u'l-Wilāyat, (MS.) Vol. II, p. 545; Manāhiḥ-us-Shāṭṭār, (MS.) ff. 5, 22, 45, 89, 108, 129; Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāṭṭārī, (MS.) p. 32; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 944.

saint of Bihār, Imām Tāj Faqih.¹ In fact what helped Shaikh Qādin in popularizing the Shaṭṭārī silsilah in Bihar was this association with a family of established religious reputation.

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1. No contemporary or even later account of Shaikh Muḥammad Faqih is available. Muḥammad Ghauthi merely says that he was a native of Fāqih, a village in Yemen (Gulzār-i-Abrār), (RG.) f. 219.

The following account of the saint, based on traditions and legends, may be read in Bihār Through the Ages: "Rājah Maniyara was hostile to Ṣufī Amīn 'Arif who called Shaikh Faqih to his help. Maniyara was killed in the battle and Shaikh Faqih occupied his kingdom. When Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Khalji came to Maner he handed over his territory to him and returned to his country." (p. 38). It is difficult to vouchsafe for every detail of this information for there is no recorded evidence to confirm it. The statement that the Imām belonged to Jerusalem (Bihar Through the Ages, p. 38.) is contradicted by Gulzār-i-Abrār.

According to the Kursi Nāmah he left three sons: Shaikh Israil, Shaikh Isma'il and Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz. To each one of them he assigned some areas to carry on the work of religious instruction (Kursi Nāmah, (MS.) p. 18). Shaikh Israil was asked to settle in the Sarkār of Bihār; Ismail was assigned the Sarkār of Tirhut. 'Abdul 'Aziz, being a minor, was put under the guardianship of Shaikh Israil. Kursi Nāmah-wa-Nasab Nāmah, (MS.) p.6. For a brief account of Imām Tāj Faqih see, Professor Hasan Askari's article Historical Significance of Islamic Mysticism in Medieval Bihar, published in Historical Miscellany (pp. 10 - 11).

Shaikh Qādin's date and place of birth is not mentioned in any contemporary or even later work, but the way he is referred to (as indicated above) shows that he was born at Maner¹ and had, later on, settled in Tirhut.² He received his early education from his father who was a man of some learning. Later on he went to Khawājah Zain-u'l-'Abidin,³ a Chishtī saint of Shaikhpurah⁴ and spent twelve years in his company. The Khawājah enrolled him among his disciples and was so deeply impressed by his single-minded devotion to the mystic cult that he also gave his daughter, Bibi Meccah, in marriage to him.⁵

It appears that Shaikh Qādin's quest for spiritual knowledge was not satisfied at the khānqāh of Shaikh Zain-u'l-'Abidin Chishtī and so he turned to mystics of other spiritual

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1. Maner is a village in the extreme north west of the Dināpore subdivision, ten miles south west of Dināpore and six miles north of Bihta station on the East Indian Railway. Bihar And Orissa District Gazetteers p. 215; see also, Dhār and Mandu, Ernest Barnes.
 2. Tirhut is the ancient name for the tract of country bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Ganges on the west by the river Gandak and on the east by the river Kosi. According to tradition it means the land in which the three great mythical homas (sacrificial fire) were performed - one at the birth of Sita in or near Sitāmārhi, the second at Dhānukha at the foot of the Himalayas when the great celestial bow of Para was broken by Rama and the third at Janakpur (now in Nepal) at the marriage of Sita. See Bengal District Gazetteers, (Muzaffarpur) pp. 159, 160.
 3. His name is mentioned in Kursi Nāmah, (MS.) p. 21; Kursi Nāmah wā Nasab Nāmah, (MS.) p. 17, but no biographical details are available in any contemporary or even later work.
 4. A village in the extreme south-west of the Monghyr subdivision. See Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, (Monghyr) p. 255.
 5. Kursi Nāmah-wā-Nasab Nāmah, (MS.) p. 11.

affiliations - Firdausiyāh,¹ Madāriyah² and Taifuriyāh.³ He wandered from place to place for a number of years in search of a mystic teacher.⁴ Among those who granted their khilāfat Nāmāhs to him, we come across the names of Sayyid Zāhid Shāh Baddi Husaini Chishti Sarani, Shaikh Ayub Kāhi, Shaikh Muhammad Ibrāhim, Sayyid 'Abd al Wāḥid, 'Abdul Wāḥab, Sayyid 'Ali Badāuni, Ibrāhim Idris and Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din.⁵ It appears that these saints enjoyed merely local fame and importance for their biographical notices are not found in any contemporary record.

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1. The Firdausi silsilah was founded by Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bakharzi, an eminent disciple of Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra. He was a contemporary of Shaikh Farid, and, according to the Fawaid-u'l-Fuad, died six years before him. The silsilah was introduced in India by Shaikh Badar-u'd-din of Samarqand, a disciple of Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bakharzi. He was very fond of mystic songs. He lies buried in Sankola in Delhi (Siyar-u'l-Arifin p. 83) Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din Yahya of Maner popularised the silsilah in India. His letters have always occupied an honoured place in the Indo Muslim mystic literature.
 2. The Madariyāh silsilah is named after its founder, Shāh Badi'-u'd-din Madar whose authentic life-story, as Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq has justly noticed, is shrouded in legends and fictions. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 158-159; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 101.
 3. The Taifuriyāh silsilah is the earliest mystic order named after Shaikh Abu Yazid Taifur Bustāmi. The adherents of this silsilah considered rapture (sukr) superior to sobriety (sahv). See, Tadhkirāt-u'l-Auliya, pp. 125, 154; Nafahāt-u'l-Uns, pp. 59, 60.
 4. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 60.
 5. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) ff. 132, 135, 136.

It was in a mood of deep spiritual unrest and gloom that he turned to the tomb of Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri¹ and stayed there for sometime seeking his spiritual guidance in his search for a mystic teacher.² Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdul Hakim³ advised him to go through the Risalah-i-Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah of Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattāri but he did not heed his advice. He sent Maulana Sa'd Ullah⁴ to the tomb of Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya to seek his spiritual guidance in the matter. On his return Maulana Sa'd-ullah told Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala Qadin that Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din wanted him to join the silsilah of Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattāri. Shaikh Qadin followed the direction and left for Mandu accompanied by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdul Hakim⁵. Those were the hot days of summer. Shaikh Qadin undertook this arduous journey to Malwah on foot. A few years earlier Shaikh 'Abdullah had invited him to join his discipline,⁶

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1. Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din b. Yahya Maneri (ob. circa 772 A.H./ 1370 A.D.) was an eminent saint of the Firdausi order. He was the disciple of Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Firdausi. He was a believer in the theory of wahdat-u'l-Wujud (Unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world). His epistles - three collections of which are available - deal mainly with pantheistic ideas. For biographical notices, see Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 113 to 118; Mir'at-u'l-Asrar, (MS.). For various collections of his letters and malfuzat, see Persian Literature, C.A. Storey pp. 1049 - 1050.
 2. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 35.
 3. His biographical account is found only in Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) on f. 36.
 4. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 36 No details about him are available.
 5. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 36.
 6. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 128.

but he had contemptuously declined to join his discipline. When Shaikh 'Abdullah came to know that the same arrogant person had now come to join the circle of his disciples, he did not pay any heed to him and did not grant an interview for three days.¹ When he met, he soon discovered that due to association with different silsilahs, Shaikh Qāḍīn's personality was in a state of tafraga (disintegration). He asked him to abjure his relationship with all other silsilahs and turn single-minded to the Shattāri silsilah. He advised him also to observe Tayy² fast. Soon afterwards his companion Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdul Hakim fell seriously ill³ and Shaikh Qāḍīn had to interrupt his programme. He accompanied his ailing friend to Bihar, but he did not stay there for long. After a short stay he again turned to Mandu. This time Shaikh 'Abdullah behaved differently. As soon as he came to know about his arrival, he immediately came out and received him warmly.⁴ It was on 4th Zil Hijjah 880 A.H./ May 7, 1475 A.D. that he formally initiated him into his discipline.

1. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 36; Gulzar-i-Abrar (RG.) f.129.

2. Literally Tayy (V. n of طوی) means fasting voluntarily.' In mystic parlance it means fasting for three days in such a way that nothing is taken at the iftar time except three or four drops of water. Among the early Indo-Muslim mystics Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar is reported to have observed this fast. See also, The Life & Times of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, p. 26.

3. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 36.

4. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 38

When Shaikh 'Abdullah was fully satisfied that Shaikh Qādin's personality had been integrated according to the Shattāri teachings, he granted his khilafat Namah to him. This brought the period of Shaikh Qādin's spiritual bewilderment to an end and he found in Shattāri discipline the spiritual satisfaction his soul had longed for.

Shaikh Qādin now decided to settle at Vaisali, and propagate the teachings of the Shattāri silsilah. Vaisali was a town of great religious and cultural importance. It had attracted eminent religious figures like Buddha and Mahavir to its fold. Its very surroundings breathed an air of spiritual calmness. At first Shaikh Qādin was not favourably received by the people of Vaisali and there was considerable opposition to him. When his eldest son, Shaikh Owais, started constructing a mosque, the people of that locality objected to it and there was a disturbance in the locality in which he was killed.¹ But Shaikh Qādin was determined not to leave Vaisali. Gradually the opposition died out and his followers succeeded in constructing a mosque and a khanqāh which subsequently became a centre of Shattāri activities in that region.

It is difficult to assess exactly the extent of Shaikh Qādin's success at a great Buddhist centre, but the fact that his grave and the mosque he had constructed there have survived

1. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 41;
Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri, (MS.) p. 18.

to this day shows that he had made a sufficiently deep impact on the mind of the people of Vaisali who still gather there with deep reverence. He lies buried on the top of a stupa nearly 24 feet high.¹ It is outside the south west angle of the fort at a distance of about 100 feet.² The mosque constructed by Shaikh Qādin stands near this stupa. Each year a fair is held near the stupa on the eve of Ram Nomi. Thousands of people, both Hindus and Muslims assemble there at the time of his death anniversary and offer sweet meats (malida) to bless the soul of Shaikh Qādin. The extent to which Shaikh Qādin was respected by posterity may be estimated from the fact that the Mughal rulers made regular grants to this khanqah. Akbar gave Kirnakarpur for the expenses of the dargah; Shahjahan made a grant of the village Hadrat Sura, and Aurangzeb gave Chak 'Abdur Rasul to the dargah. Even as late as the 18th century Farrukh Siyar (1124 A.H./1713 A.D.) made a grant of Chak Basin for the maintenance of the dargah of Shaikh Qādin.³

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1. Bengal District Gazetteers (Muzaffarpur) pp. 14, 15.
 2. Archaeological Survey of India, (Reports) Vol. XVI p. 6; Bengal District Gazetteers Muzaffarpur, (p. 139); List of Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa Province; (pp. 26, 27) writes a distance of about 1,000 feet which is incorrect. They followed the information given in Archaeological Survey of India Reports Vol. I p. 55 in which 1,000 feet were printed by mistake.
 3. Original documents in the Land Record Office of Muzaffarpur.

Shaikh Qādin was an erudite scholar. His two books — Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār and Awrad-i-Qādin Shattār reveal his knowledge of the mystic ideology and practices. The Awrad is a collection of spiritual practices compiled for the guidance of his son, Shaikh Hadiat-ullah Sarmast. An autograph copy of this work is preserved in a Shattāri Khanqah at Islampur. The Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar supplies information about the life of the founder of the Shattāri silsilah in India and throws considerable light on the Shattāri mystic principles. It reveals Shaikh Qādin as an erudite scholar and a mystic with great organising capacity. His contribution to the ideology of the silsilah was in no way less than the contribution of Shaikh 'Abdullah. But instead of making any original contribution he developed and elaborated the ideas of Shaikh 'Abdullah in a more lucid and cogent manner. Like all other mystics he has emphasised the significance of Taubah (repentance) as the first stage in mystic discipline. While discussing the methods to be adopted in order to train young seekers, Shaikh Qādin recommends tajrid (seclusion) as the first requisite. He then recommends assignment of different services of the Khānqāh, like drawing of water, cleaning and sweeping etc., to a new entrant to the mystic fold. Like Shaikh 'Abdullah he emphasised complete obedience to the Shaikh, which bordered on almost annihilation of the self. He approvingly quotes the Tamhidat of the famous mystic, 'Ain-u'l-Quḍḍat Hamdani, in which he says:

مريد ہر برکت بايد تا خدا پرست گردد

1. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 37.

(A murid should be a worshipper of pir so that he may become worshipper of God).

Shaikh Qādin emphatically declared that the mystic journey could not be performed without the guidance of a pir. Like Shaikh 'Abdullah he recommended the annihilation of the individuality of the murid in the personality of the Shaikh. Again and again he harps on the same theme. Other silsilahs had also laid emphasis on implicit obedience to the Shaikh but the extent to which the Shattāris went has no parallel in the history of Islamic mysticism. He adumbrated the theory of fana fil Shaikh (annihilation in the personality of the Shaikh) almost as a parallel to the theory of fana fil-lah (Annihilation in God). The Naqshbandi concept of the tasawwur-i-Shaikh does not come up to that level. At one place he gives the following advice to his disciples:

خواهی که خدای تعالی را به بینی تصویر پرورش در دل نقش کنی

(If you want to behold God, imprint on your heart the impression of your spiritual master).

(a) Descendants of Shaikh Qādin

Shaikh Qādin had three sons:

1. Shaikh Owais
2. 'Abdur Rahman
3. Shaikh Hadiat Ullah

1. Ma'adin-u'l-Asrār, (MS.) f. 37.

Shaikh Owais was killed at Vaisali, as has been noticed earlier, when he was trying to construct a mosque. He left behind a child Shah 'Ali¹ who lived with his grandfather so long as he was alive. Later on Shaikh Hadiat Ullah took him under his supervision. When Hadiat Ullah migrated to Hajipur, Shāh 'Ali also accompanied him. He was brought up and educated by his uncle. Later on he became a murid of his uncle. When Hadiat Ullah permitted him to enrol disciples, he went to Jandaha² and set up a hospice there. Four villages - Hadrat Jandaha, Chak Muhi-u'd-din, Chak Faridabad, Chak Rajali — were granted by the Mughal Emperors for the expenses of the Dargah³.

Shāh 'Ali left behind a son, 'Ala-u'd-din, who sat on the sajjadah of his father and continued his traditions. He was followed by his son, Qutb-u'd-din, who had four sons, Muhi-u'd-din,⁴ Sharaf-u'd-din, Shams-u'd-din and Mu'in-u'd-din.

Mu'in-u'd-din died young leaving behind a son, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din. Muhi-u'd-din devoted his life to the work of the silsilah. He was held in high esteem by all sorts of people,

1. Manāhij-u's-Shattār, (MS.) f. 93.

2. A village 20 miles east of Hajipur.
Bengal District Gazetteers, (Muzaffarpur), p. 147.

3. Vide List of Revenue Free Estates prepared in 1819 in Land Record Office at Muzaffarpur.

4. His biographical account is found in Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) pp. 10, 32, 87.

high and low, scholars and officials. A Hindu, diwan of Bihar Tara Chand, is mentioned among his frequent visitors.¹ Muhi-u'd-din died in 1070 A.H./²1659 A.D.

Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din was brought up and educated by his grandfather, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din.³ He studied 'Arabic and logic from Shihab-u'd-din⁴ in the madrasah attached with the khānqāh of Shaikh Hadiat Ullah. His teacher had assigned to him the work of sweeping the madrasah.⁵ When he grew up and set up an independent khānqāh, he maintained friendly relations with the rulers and the officials of the place but did not accept any gifts or grants from them. His intercession was, however, sought by people in different matters.

Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din was a good scholar of Arabic and Persian. His conversations with his disciples and visitors have been recorded by Pir Imam-u'd-din of Rajgir.⁶

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1. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāttāri, (MS.) p. 37.
 2. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāttāri, (MS.) p. 32.
 3. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāttāri, (MS.) p. 87.
 4. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāttāri, (MS.) p. 77.
 5. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shāttāri, (MS.) p. 77.
 6. Imam-u'd-din Rajgiri claimed his descent from Khunjah Daulat, a daughter of Shaikh Qadin. He was a good scholar of Persian. His three works - Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din, Manahij-u's-Shāttār and Awrad-i-Imam-u'd-din - have reached us. On the death of his spiritual master in 1117 A.H./1705 A.D. he settled at Rajgir (a village in the Bihar sub-division, 13 miles south west of Bihar. Bihar & Orissa District Gazetteers (Patna, p. 225). Farruk Siyar granted some villages for his Khānqāh. It appears from the ruins of his khānqāh that the building was a very huge and magnificent one.

He maintained cordial relations with the Hindu saints. Ranji Ram, a Hindu saint of Bengal, is reported to have visited him several times.¹ When Azim-ush-Shān reached there as governor of Bihar, he expressed his desire to meet Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din and sent one Shaikh Muhammad 'Aqil to request the Shaikh to visit his court. The Shaikh did not go to the court but met the Prince at a feast arranged in his honour by Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din.² A few days before his death, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din received a letter from Mir Muhammad Aslam earnestly requesting him to grant an interview to Azim ush Shān. The Shaikh simply ignored this letter. He passed away in 1117 A.H./1705 A.D.

Shaikh Hadiyatullah
alias Sarmast:

Shaikh Hadiyatullah succeeded his father as his sajjadah nashin at Vaisali.³ From his early youth the ecstatic tendency was very deep in him and so he became known as Pir-i-Sarmast (the ecstatic saint). The Gulzar-i-Abrar⁴ and the Bahr-i-Zakhkhar⁵ state that he could not get proper education during the

1. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri, (MS.) p. 36.
2. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri, (MS.) p. 63.
3. His biographical account is found in the following books: Awrad-i-Qādin Shattār, (MS.) p. 129; Jawāhir-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 270; Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah (MS.) ff. 72, 73; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p. 241; Mirat-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 355; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) ff. 141, 142; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 253; Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattari, (MS.) pp. 68, 69, p. 945; Manahij-us-Shattar, (MS.) f. 93; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 945.
4. (RG.) f. 142.
5. (MS.) p. 945.

life time of his father and that it was after his death that Shaikh Zāhur Hamid a Khalifah of Shaikh Qādin, taught him some practices of the Shattāri order and gave him the Khirqah of Khilāfat which Shaikh Qadin had entrusted to him. "Your father had placed this Khirqah in my custody to be handed over to you," he submitted. This statement is contradicted by the Malfuz of Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri¹ wherein it is definitely stated that Shaikh Hadiat Ullah had completed his education under his father who had also conferred upon him the Khilāfat Nāmah of the Shattāri order.

It was at the tender age of twelve that Shaikh Hadiat Ullah received the necessary mystic training under the supervision of his father. Later on his father asked him to devote his time to teaching work. For twelve years he busied himself in it. Shaikh Qadin was so pleased with his work as a teacher that he gave him the title of Abul Fateh besides five hundred books for free distribution among his pupils.²

Hadiat Ullah was only eighteen years of age when his father died but, in deference to the wishes of his father, he was placed on the Sajjadah.³

In 946 A.H./1539 A.D. when Humayun met Shaikh Hadiat Ullah he was so deeply impressed by his piety and penitence that he

1. (MS.) pp. 68, 69.

2. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri, (MS.) p. 68.

3. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri, (MS.) p. 69.

requested him to accompany him to Agra. The Shaikh acceded to his request.¹ But soon afterwards the battle of Chausah turned the tables and brought about a complete change in the fortune of Humayun. Shaikh Hadiat Ullah realised the risks involved in living in his company. He discontinued his journey at Hajipur.² This place so captivated his heart that he settled here permanently and built a Khānqāh and a Sarai for himself.

Shaikh Hadiat Ullah left behind only one son, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din.³ His chief successor, Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-din Sulaiman Quraishi, (ob. 973 A.H./1565 A.D.) was the teacher of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar.⁴

A big mausoleum was built over his grave near the bank of Gandak. But the floods severely damaged it. Nawab Siraj-u'd-daulah made a grant of several villages - Makhdumpur Baso, Abdullahpur, Rampur and Narainpur — for the maintenance of his dargah.⁵

Shaikh Hadiat Ullah left a number of disciples, among whom Shāh Daulat is the most renowned.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 142; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahani, (MS.) p. 253.
 2. It is headquarter of the Hajipur sub-division situated on the Eastern Bank of the Gandak. Bengal District Gazetteers Muzaffarpur, p. 144.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 142.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 142.
 5. See Copies of the Faramin in the Land Record Office at Muzaffarpur.

Shāh Daulat¹

Shāh Daulat bin Shaikh Abdul Malik of Maner had received instruction in external sciences from Miyan Buddhān of Maner.² He believed in a life of penitence and poverty and looked down upon possession of material means as a serious obstacle to the growth of one's spiritual personality. Whatever documents of grants had reached him from his ancestors, he put them in fire.³ His learning and piety attracted even the externalist scholars ('ulama-i-zāhir) to his mystic fold. 'Abdullah, a qadi of Maner, was a bitter critic of the mystics but he was so impressed by him that he joined his discipline.⁴ Shaikh Khālil, Shaikh Hāfiz Sārāni⁵ and Shaikh Ya'qub - all of whom belonged to the category of ulama-i-zahir had great faith in him. Muslims apart, even Hindus had deep respect for him. Among others Rājā Man Singh was one of his ardent admirers. An album belonging to Muhammad Husain Kashmiri contains two portraits of the Rājā in the company of Shāh Daulat. In one portrait the saint is shown presenting an earthen pot to the Rājā.⁶

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on ff. 368, 369; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 463; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. See, Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 368; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 463.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 369.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 368.
 5. Shaikh Hāfiz Sārāni and Shaikh Ya'qub are referred in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 368.
 6. Biyad-i-Khās of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, Patna. (Painting reproduced here).

Shāh Daulat is reported to have lived upto the ripe old age of one hundred and seven years. He died at Maner in 1019 A.H.¹/1610 A.D. Ibrahim Khān Kanker, a governor of Maner, who had great faith in Shāh Daulat, constructed a mausoleum over his grave. It appears from an inscription on the building that it was begun during the life time of the saint sometime in 1017 A.H.²/1608 A.D. From the architectural point of view the tomb of Shāh Daulat is one of the most magnificent monuments of Bihar.

Shaikh Ajmal, Shaikh 'Abdul Karim, Sayyid Ahmad Bihari, and Shaikh Ahmad Chishti are mentioned among the disciples of Shāh Daulat but their biographical accounts are not available.

(b) Disciples of Shaikh Qādin:

Of the many disciples of Shaikh Qādin, two deserve to be particularly mentioned - Shaikh Zāhur Hamid and Sayyid 'Ali Qawām.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 369; Tabāqāt-i-Shāh-jāhāni, (MS.) p. 463.
 2. This date is given on the Buland Darwāzah which is the main entrance to the tomb. Ibrahim Khān Kanker and his wife were also buried in this building.

Shaikh Zāhur Hamid¹

Maulana Zahr̄, a merchant of Ghaznin, used to visit India in connection with his trade. In 835 A.H./1431 A.D., his wife gave birth to a child and died soon afterwards.² Maulana Zahr̄ looked after him with great affection and tenderness. Though he had engaged a nurse to look after him, he used to keep him in his company even during his visits to different places in connection with his trade. He named this child as Zahr̄ Hamid.

Once, while coming to India, Zahr̄ was attacked by a band of robbers. He fought bravely but was killed in the encounter.³ The next morning when a muqaddam of the adjoining town came to enquire about the incident he was deeply touched to find a child lying on the ground by the side of a corpse. He took the baby in his custody. In the meantime the nurse who had taken shelter in some cave near by, came out and narrated the details of the disaster to the muqaddam.⁴ The muqaddam took the child under his guardianship and retained the services of

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books:- Jawahār-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f.3; Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.) ff.16, 95; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 240, 241; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p.5; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff.139, 140, 141; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p.225; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p.577; Shahzādah-i-Muẓaffarīyah, (MS.) p.100.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 139.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 139.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140.

the nurse also. When Zahur Hamid grew up, the muqaddam engaged a tutor for him.¹ Such is the tragic account of the early life of Zahur Hamid as given in mystic records. It cannot be denied that there was a tendency in the medieval hagiographers to clothe their heroes in the garb of myth and romance but the way in which this whole story is narrated by an earlier writer leaves no doubt about its authenticity.

After completing his education Shaikh Hamid came to Gwalior and took up the profession of teaching. Later on he became inclined towards mysticism and began to roam about in search of a spiritual master. On hearing the name of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala Qadin he went to him and was so deeply impressed by him that he joined his discipline.² When Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala Qadin died Shaikh Hamid stayed for some time with his son, Shaikh Hadiat-Ullah, and completed his spiritual training. Some writers have, on that account, included him among the disciples and khalifahs of Shaikh Hadiat Ullah.³

At the age of forty he went on pilgrimage to Meccah. During the course of this journey, he met many Sufis. Two of them, Shaikh 'Ali Shirazi alias 'Ali Thani and Shaikh Muhammad

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p. 240; Tabaqat-i-Shahjehani, (MS.) p. 225.

3. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār, p. 241.

Ghiyath Chishti, are particularly noteworthy. The former was a disciple of Shaikh Aziz-u'd-din 'Abdullah of Egypt.¹ He gave him permission and spiritual authority of the Owaisiyah order. Shaikh Muhammad Ghiyath Chishti was the Khalifah of Khwajah Mu'in-u'l-Islam, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din of Manikpur. He also blessed him with the Khilāfat of his order.²

After performing the Haj pilgrimage, he proceeded to Medinah where he stayed for forty years, and spent all his time in prayers, penitences and cleaning the tomb of the Prophet. When he reached the age of eighty, he found himself physically weak and helpless³ and decided to return to Gwalior. On his journey back home he possessed only three articles - a bucket (dōl) for drawing water, a rod (asa) and a prayer carpet (musa-lla). When he reached Gwalior, Khatir-u'd-din, a native of Gwalior who had great faith in mystics, sent his eight sons to attend upon him. Shaikh Hamid treated them with affection and instructed them in the various practices of the mystics.⁴ He selected Shaikh Muhammad for special mystic training and conferred upon him the title of Ghauth.⁵ Later on Shaikh Hamid visited Bihar to renew his old contacts, and breathed his last on 22nd

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1. He claimed his spiritual descent from Khwajah Owais Qarani Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 140.
 4. Akhabār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 240.
 5. Akhabār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 240; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) states that a Sufi at Chunar had bestowed upon him the title which is incorrect.

of Zil Hijj 930 A.H./¹1523 A.D. at Saran,² a village 25 miles of Chapra.

Sayyid 'Ali Qawām:³ !

He belonged to a distinguished Sayyid family of Samana. In his early years he had enrolled himself as a disciple of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Shattāri⁴, but later on he visited Shaikh Qādin and received spiritual authority from him.⁵ According to Abul Fadl he had also benefitted from the company of Shaikh Fadil Shattāri.⁶ His chief source of inspiration, however, was Shaikh Qādin who initiated him in all the intricacies of the Shattāri mystic discipline.

Sayyid 'Ali Qawām was a man of ecstasy. He was often in a mood of intoxication. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq informs us that he was not particular even about his dress. Sometimes he dressed himself in mystic garments and sometimes he put on military

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 141; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 225.
 2. His tomb is known as the Mazar of Khwajah Pir. Bengal District Gazetteers Saran District, p. 163.
 3. Biographical references are found in the following books: Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 221-222; A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. III, pp. 286, 287; Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 69; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff 131, 132; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 224; Safinat-u'l-Auliya, pp. 327, 328; Mirat-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) ff. 354, 355; Zubdat-u'l-Maqamat, (MS.) f. 52; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 947.
 4. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 221; Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 286.
 5. Akhbār-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 69.
 6. A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. III p. 286.

uniform. Eminent mystics however visited him. His conversations were characterised by a charm which attracted and hypnotised all visitors. Maulana Saif u'd-din, father of Shaikh Abdul Haqq, had also visited him and was deeply impressed by his conversations.¹ He died at Jaunpur in 905 A.H./²1499 A.D. Among his disciples Shaikh Mubarak Bālādast played a prominent part in popularizing the silsilah in some important places of northern India.

Shaikh Mubarak Bālādast³ belonged to Jhinjhānah.⁴ He lived with his spiritual master for twelve years⁵ and served him with great devotion. After obtaining the spiritual authority of the Shattāriyāh order he returned to his native place and set up a Shattāri khānqāh. Shaikh Allah Bakhsh, the author of Munis-ud-dhākirin informs us that eminent contemporary mystics like Miran Sayyid Masood, Sayyid Farid, Shaikh Bhura, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Quraishi, Shaikh Yusuf Afghān, Shaikh Manjhan, Sayyid Abdul Karim, Miyan Taj Khān, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq, Shaikh Nusrat, Shaikh Bayazid, Shaikh Khwajah, Shaikh Shams Meeruti, Shaikh Kamal, Malik Muhammad, Shaikh Nizām, Shaikh Nur

1. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 221 - 222.

2. Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 222; Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 287; Akhbār-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 69; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 132. Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 224; Safinat-u'l-Auliya, on p. 328 says that he died in 950 A.H./1543 A.D. and was buried in Sarai Miran in the Suburb of Jaunpur. This information is obviously incorrect.

3. His biographical account is found in the following books: Munis-ud-dhākirin; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 150.

4. Jhinjhānah is a town in the Kairana Tahsil of Muzaffarnagar District in the Uttar Pradesh. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 164.

5. Munis-ud-dhākirin, p. 354.

Muhammad, Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Kashmiri, Shaikh Ala-u'd-din, Shaikh 'Abdul Shakoor Rasuldar, Sayyid Mutajjib Rasuldar and others visited him.¹ Shaikh Allah Bakhsh² himself was among the disciples of Shaikh Mubarak Balādest. He was the son of Qādi Shaikh Khundan and claimed descent from Shaikh Musa who was the first Muslim to settle at Garhmuktesar.³ He lived a celibate life of devotion to the mystic cult. His contribution towards the dissemination of the Shāṭṭāri ideology was immense. He systematized and consolidated the teachings of his silsilah in his famous work, Munis-udh-~~dh~~akirin. It deals with various aspects of dhikr (constantly remembering the names of Allah) and brings out its significance in Shāṭṭāri ideology.⁴

1. Munis-udh-~~dh~~akirin, pp. 355, 356, 357, 358.

2. His biographical account is found in the following books Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 58; Munis-udh-~~dh~~akirin; Pusht Namah; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) pp. 322, 323; Zubdat-u'l-Maqamat, (MS.) §52.

3. Garhmuktesar is a town in Uttar Pradesh situated near the Ganges on the Delhi - Moradabad road. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XII p. 162.

4. For details See Chapter X.

C H A P T E R I I I

SHĀTTĀRI SILSILAH UNDER SHAIKH BAHLUL

AND

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH OF GWĀLIOR

It was under two distinguished disciples of Shaikh Zahur Hamid - Shaikh Bahlul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwālior - that the Shattāri silsilah reached its highest watermark. They perfected its ideology, gave it a manual, organized its branches at important centres and attracted all sorts of people, high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims to their hospices. But for Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth the Shattāri silsilah would have remained limited in its sphere of activity and extent of influence on the general currents of Indian society.

Shaikh Bahlul:¹ :

Shaikh Bahlul's² full name was Farid-u'd-din Ahmad

1. Biographical references are found in the following books:
Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (RG.) f.23; Akbar-Namah, Vol. I pp. 155,156; Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi, (RG.) ff.46,47,50; Majalis-u's-Salatin, (RG.) f.70; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II p.42; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol.III p.5; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p.241; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) ff.149,150; Ma'arij-u'l-Wilayat, (MS.) Vol.II p.584; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) pp.250,251; Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol.II pp. 576,577.
2. Akbar Namah, Vol.I pp.155-156; Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi, (RG.) ff.46, 47,50; and Majalis-u's-Salatin, (RG.) f.70; call him Bahlul. Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (RG.) f.23; calls him Bahlul. Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, calls him Bhool. The Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) ff.149,150; the Tadkirat-u'l-Waqi'at, (RG.) ff.18,19; and the Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol.II pp.576,577; call him Phool.
I have accepted Abul Fadl and Mushtaqi.

Jahangir. It was during his childhood that he joined the discipline of Shaikh Hamid and began to live with him. Shaikh Hamid subsequently granted the patent of spiritual authority (Khilafat Namah) to him. He belonged to a family known for its association with the great mystic poet Shaikh Farid-u'd-din 'Attar.¹ His genealogy is thus recorded in early works: Shaikh Bahlul, Khatir u'd-din, 'Abdul Latif, Mu'in-u'd-din Qattāl, Khatir-u'd-din, Bayazid, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din 'Attār.² His father, Khatir-u'd-din, had great faith in mystics and so he got his two sons - Shaikh Bahlul and Muhammad Ghauth - initiated into the discipline of Shaikh Zāhur Hamid, and placed them under his supervision. The Shaikh looked after the boys with great care and took keen interest in the development of their moral and spiritual personalities.

Shaikh Bahlul was keenly interested in occult practices and exorcism and it was on that account that Humayun admitted him into the circle of his companions and advisers.³ According

1. For his life see, The Literary History of Persia, Vol. II pp.50-6-514; Mirza Muhammad Qazwini's Introduction to Nicholson's edition of Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya.

2. Jawahir-i-Khamsah, (MS.) on f. 2 says:

فقال القمير الراجى الى الله ملك القدوس السلام المومنين المعينين العزيز
الجهار محمد بن خطير الدين بن عبد الطيف بن همن الدين قتال بن
خطير الدين بن بايزيد بن خواجه فرید الدین عطار
.....

Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 93.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p.4; Iqbal Namah, Vol. I p. 149.

to Jahangir, Humayun had great affection for him.¹ The Emperor's regard for him enhanced his prestige among the people. The author of Tabaqat-i-Shahjāhāni gives the following information: "The austerities and penitences which these two brothers practised are such that probably no later saint has practiced them. And they achieved so great success in the science of incantation, exorcism and in captivating the people that no body could have achieved such success. It was on that account that all people including nobles and ministers developed deep faith in him. Humayun conducted himself before Shaikh Bhool (cis) like a disciple. When he (actually) became his disciple, 'ulama and scholars and companions of the king, like Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Tatwi who was one of the great scholars of the time and was very close to the Emperor, and Maulana Muhammad Pir Ali who was a person unique in many respects, followed the Emperor (in joining the discipline of Shaikh Bhool).²"

Shaikh Bahlul lived at the court of Humayun and accompanied him on his expeditions. When Humayun was engaged in a conflict with Sher Shah in Bengal, Shaikh Bahlul was also with him.³ On receiving the news of the revolt of Mirza Hindal, Humayun sent Shaikh Bahlul to dissuade the Mirza from his contumacious activities. When Shaikh Bahlul reached the outskirts

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 258.

2. Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) f. 250.

3. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. I p. 155.

of the city, Hindal came out to receive him.¹ It was due to his persuasion that the Mirza gave up the idea of revolt. But Haji Muhammad Khān Koki, Dindar Baig, Khusrāu Kokaltash, Mirza Nur-u'd-din Muhammad and some other seditious nobles reached Agra and began to incite Hindal to declare his independence. Since the presence of Shaikh Bahlul was considered undesirable, some people began to suggest ways and means to get rid of him. Hindal entrusted the matter to Nur-u'd-din and asked him to deal with Shaikh Bahlul as he thought fit. Nur-u'd-din charged Shaikh Bahlul of being in league with Sher Shah.² Gulbadan positively states that Shaikh Bahlul concealed armour and military stores in an underground place and would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Sher Khan and the Mirzas.³ This charge was sufficient to provoke the Mughal nobles and create hatred against the Shaikh. They killed Shaikh Bahlul on the sand of the Shahibagh⁴ at Agra in 945 A.H./1538 A.D.

Abul Fadl speaks of a conspiracy among the officers to put the Shaikh to death publicly. He further says that it was at the suggestion of Mirza Nur-u'd-din Muhammad that this plan

1. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. I p. 155.

2. Tas̄kirat-u'l-Waqi'at, (RG.) ff. 18, 19;

3. Humayun Namah, pp. 134-135.

4. i.e. "Char Bagh" on the bank of the Ganges, built by Babur. Tuzuk, p. 258.

6. Akbar Namah, Vol. I p. 155; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 42; Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi, (RG.) ff. 47, 50; Majalis-u's-Salatin, (RG.) f. 70; Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II pp. 576, 577. The Tabaqat-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) on p. 251. says that he died in 946 A.H./1539 A.D. which is incorrect.

was prepared and that it was Hindal who had issued the necessary orders.¹ The author of the Tabāqāt-i-Akbari clearly states the circumstances and motives of the Shaikh's death. He says that the Shaikh was executed on the pretext of being in league with the Afghans, but in reality his death was brought about by the amirs who wanted to widen the breach between Mirza Hindal and Humayun.² All the authorities agree in saying that the suspicion to which Gulbadan alludes was ill-founded. The death of the Shaikh was due to the instigation of nobles who egged on the young prince to commit treason against his elder brother and Emperor.

Shaikh Bahlul had a large number of followers in Agra. They recovered his body and a disciple of the Shaikh, Muhammad Bakhshi, took it to Biyanah and buried it there.³

Shaikh Bahlul commanded great respect and influence among the ladies of the haram. His assassination was deeply resented by them. When Hindal went to see his mother, he found her in mourning dress. She was so deeply distressed at the execution of Shaikh Bahlul that she rebuked Hindal severely on that account. "You have killed the Shaikh; why do you delay about me," she is reported to have remarked.⁴

1. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. I p. 155.

2. Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 42.

3. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 258. Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 150; Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II p. 577.

4. Akbar Nāmah Vol. I p. 156.

Shaikh Bahlul's fame rests mainly on his knowledge of magic, exorcism and conjuration. Mirza ~~Maidar~~ refers to him in that context¹ and all the other Mughal historians have referred to this aspect of the Shaikh's interests.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth² :

The most outstanding figure of the Shattāri silsilah was Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwālior. It was under his supervision that, in the words of the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār, the Shattāri babe grew into manhood. His erudition, penitences and prestige added to the popularity of the silsilah and people who were indifferent towards it in the beginning were drawn by him towards the Shattāri mystic principles.

1. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 398.

2. Biographical references are found in the following books:
Jawāhr-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267; Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.) ff. 18, 52, 95, 98; Mairaj Nāmāh, (MS.); Bahr-u'l-Mayāt, (MS.); Babur Nāmāh, Vol. II pp. 539, 540, 688, 690; Tābāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22, 23, 140, 142, 482; Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II pp. 68, 69; A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. I p. 293; Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 241; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II pp. 34, 63, 118, 119; Vol. III pp. 4, 5, 6; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194; Tābāqāt-i-Shahjāhāni, (MS.) pp. 300, 301; Ma'arij-u'l-Wilayat, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 582, 583, 584; Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II pp. 577, 578, 579; Mir'at-u'l-Asrar, (MS.) f. 355; Akhbār-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) ff. 93, 94; Gwālior Nāmāh, (RG.) f. 148; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) pp. 953, 954; Risalah-i-Ibrahimi, (MS.) f. 179; Tarikh-i-Shahjāhāni, (MS.) f. 116; Mir'at-i-Sikandari, pp. 296, 297; Miftah-u't-Tawarikh, pp. 173, 177; Mahfil-i-Asfiya Majma-u'l-Auliya, (MS.) p. 11; Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, Vol. II pp. 332, 333, 334.

It was in his early youth that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth joined the discipline of Shaikh Zahur Hamid who took keen personal interest in his affairs. After initial training in mystic discipline he asked him to proceed to Chunar¹ and devote his time to spiritual practices.² Muhammad Ghauth carried out the instructions of his mystic-master faithfully and subjected himself to the most severe austerities for more than thirteen years.³ Bada'uni informs us that during his stay at Chunar he subsisted on the leaves of trees.⁴ It was here in the sequestered corners of Vindhya Chal that he came into contact with the Hindu Yogis - a contact which played a very vital part in shaping his religious thought and outlook.⁵ Though the early Indo-Muslim records⁶ refer to the contact of the Muslim mystics with the Hindu Yogis at Ajodhan, but that contact was casual. Probably no other Indo-Muslim saint came so close to the Yogis as Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.

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1. Chunar is a tahsil in the Mirzapur district. It is about three miles from the river Ganges.

District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, of Agra and Oudh. (Mirzapur) Vol. XXVII pp. 8, 316.

2. Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267; Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.) f. 18; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 188.
3. In his Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah, (f.267). he says:

این درویش سیزده سال و هفت ماه در کوهستان چنار به عبادت
مستور ریاضت کشید

(This dervish applied himself in seclusion to penitences for 13 years and seven months in the hills of Chunar.)

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 4; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 300.
5. Bahr-u'l-Hāyāt, (MS.)
6. Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, pp. 84-85; 245.

During his stay at Chunar, Shaikh Ghauth prepared a record of the teachings of his spiritual master, Shaikh Zāhur Hamid, under the title Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah.¹ When Hāji Hamid returned from his travels in Bengal, Shaikh Ghauth presented this book to him. The Shaikh liked it immensely but he did not want his disciple to develop the tendencies of a recluse.² He, therefore, asked him to return to Gwālīor³ and live in human company. Shaikh Ghauth had, by now, so developed his personality that as soon as he settled in Gwālīor he became the cynosure of public eyes. All sorts of people began to throng his dwelling. It was probably due to his influence over the people that Tātār Khān Sarang Khāni, the Afghan Chief of Gwālīor, grew suspicious of him and, as was inevitable, relations between them became strained. When Babur turned his attention towards Gwālīor, the Shaikh extended a helping hand to him.

1. See Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah (f. 3) where he remarks:

د رکوہستان قلمہ چناروفتہ ۔ ۔ ۔ آنجہ فرمودہ بود کہ بآن عمل نموده
حال گزشتہ را نوشتہ جمع ساختہ ۔ ۔ ۔ این کتاب را کہ مسی بجواہر خمسہ
است بدست آنحضرت (ظہور حمید) داد

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III on p. 4; Tābāqāt-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 300; Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267.

3. Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267.

When Babur dealt a death blow to the central Afghan power in India, Tatar Khan Sarang Khan and the chiefs of Biyanah, Dewat, Jholpur, Kabiri, Etawah and Kalpi adopted a policy of resistance towards him. "Those miserable heretics," remarks Babur "were the promoters of all the agitations and disturbances which surrounded us."¹ But, when reports of Rajput activities reached Tatar Khan, he realised the impending danger and revised his policy towards Babur and offered voluntary submission to him. But he was not sincere in his submission. When Babur dispatched Khwajah Rahim-Dad, Mulla Afaq and Shaikh Suran to receive his surrender, Tatar Khan shut himself in the fort and adopted an attitude of defiance and resistance. At this juncture Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth threw his weight about in favour of Babur and sent a message to Rahim Dad: "Get yourselves into the fort some how, for the views of this person (Tatar Khan) have changed, and he has evil in his mind."² Probably acting upon this advice of the Shaikh, Rahim Dad sent a message to Tatar Khan and earnestly requested him to permit him to stay in the fort as he was surrounded by enemies on all sides. Tatar Khan permitted him

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1. P. de Courteille, II p. 233; Il'minski p. 381 as cited by Rushbrook Williams in his "An Empire Builder of the 16th century".p. 140.
 2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II on pp. 22-23 says that the Mughal army besieged the fortress but did not succeed until Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth directed it to enter in the fort with some trick. This information seems to be incorrect in view of Babur's statement that while the army was approaching Gwalior Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had sent the necessary information to it. Vide Babur Namah, Vol. II p. 540.

to come in with a limited number of soldiers. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth secretly instructed the gate-keepers, who were his disciples¹ to open the gate at night and admit the entire Mughal force. Tatar Khan was taken by surprise when he found the Mughal army in his fort. Surrender to the Mughal generals was unavoidable now.²

It was on account of his important role in the conquest of Gwalior that Babur began to show great regard to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Sometime later when Babur was displeased with Rahim Dad on account of his 'misconduct',³ the intercession of the Shaikh was invoked. Babur showed great consideration for the Shaikh's recommendation and granted pardon to Rahim Dad.⁴

1. Tabāqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22, 23.

2. Babur Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 540.

3. Babur does not give details of this misconduct. Only this much information is given in the Babur Nāmāh:

"Sayyid Mashhadi who had come from Gwālīor in these days, represented that Rahim Dad was stirring up sedition". Babur Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 688.

Mrs. Beveridge gives the following note:

"The Tarikh-i-Gwālīori (B.M.Add. 16,709, p. 18) supplements the fragmentary accounts which are given above and s.d. 936 A.H. are all that the Babur Nāmāh now preserves concerning Khwājāh Rahim Dad's misconduct. It has several mistakes but the gist of its information is useful. It mentions that the Khwājāh and his paternal uncle Mahdi Khwājāh had displeased Babur; that Rahim Dad resolved to take refuge with the ruler of Malwa (Muhammad Khālji) and to make over Gwālīor to a Rajput land holder of that country; that upon this Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth went to Agra and interceded with Babur and obtained his forgiveness for Rahim Dad. Gwālīor was given back to Rahim Dad but a time he was superseded by Abul-fath (Shaikh Guran)." Babur Nāmāh (Vol. II p. 688).

4. Babur Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 690.

Later on Humayun also maintained amicable relations with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.¹ One of the factors responsible for these cordial relations was the interest of Humayun in the science of exorcism. Badauni says: "Humayun had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism."²

When Humayun was driven out of India, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had to face great harassment at the hands of the Afghans. Sher Shah began to harass him, and so the Shaikh decided to migrate to Gujarat.³ While in Gujarat he carried on correspondence with Humayun.⁴

During his stay in Gujarat Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth attained great fame and popularity and large number of nobles and princes began to visit his retreat.⁵ This popularity excited the jealousy of the contemporary saints and scholars. They were looking for an opportunity to harass him when his small brochure M'airaj Nāmāh appeared. Many theologians of Gujarat protested against this book and condemned it as here-

1. Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 188.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 4.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.5; Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 188; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 301.

4. See infra, Chapter VIII for the text of these letters.

5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.5; Tabaqat-i-Shah-jahanī, (MS.) p. 301.

tical. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi¹, one of the most influential religious scholars of Gujārat, issued a fatwa (religious decree) against Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and declared him to be a renegade who deserved execution on that account. When the matter was referred to Sultan 'ahud of Gujarat (944 A.H./ 1537 A.D.), he consulted Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi², another very eminent scholar of Gujarat. When Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din looked at Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, he found an irresistible spiritual attraction in him and tore the fatwa of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi to pieces.³ This came as a shock and a surprise to Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi who tore his clothes and rushed to the house of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din in great rage and said: "How is it that you assent to the spread of heresy and schism in the faith?"⁴ Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din calmly replied: "We follow the letter and the Shaikh the spirit (of religion). Our understanding cannot reach his perfections and (even), as far as the letter of the law goes, no exception, by which he could be pronounced blame-worthy, can be taken to him."⁵

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1. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi (885-975 A.H./1480-1567 A.D.) was one of the most outstanding saints and scholars of the 16th century. Born and educated at Burhanpur, he eventually settled at Meccah and established a madrasah where students came from distant parts of the Muslim world. According to Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq his works in 'Arabic and Persian exceed the number of one hundred. For an account of the Shaikh and his works, see Hayat-i-Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, pp. 309-311. See also Gulzar-i-Abrar, (R.G.) ff. 259,260; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 245-257.
 2. See infra, Chapter VI for his detailed biographical account.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 44.
 4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 44.
 5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 44.

Badauni says that this incident considerably increased the popularity of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in Gujarat.¹ He constructed a big house and a khanqāh in Ahmadabad which became known as Daulat Khanah.² His khanqah contained a mosque also which was called Ektoda i.e. one turrent mosque. The Archaeological Survey Report of 1824 calls it the Daulat Khanah Mosque. It is situated at a distance of about 330 yards from the mosque of Malik Sarang.³ To the north of the mosque there is an open space with a tomb in it in which one wife and two sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth are buried.⁴

Though Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had attained great fame and popularity in Gujarat, he did not like to stay there after the restoration of Mughal power. When Humayun re-established himself in India, he began to make plans to come to Delhi. But before he could reach Delhi, Humayun died of an accident.

It was probably due to his contacts with Humayun that Akbar also showed great regard to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Badauni remarks in his characteristic satirical manner.

"While at Gujarat he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher."⁵

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 44.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 188.

3. Archaeological Survey of Western, India, Vol. VIII p.48.

4. Archaeological Survey of Western, India, Vol. VIII p.50.

5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II p. 63.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth visited Agra in Rajab 966 A.H./¹ 1558 A.D. Akbar went out to receive him.² This was enough to excite the jealousy of Shaikh Gadai, the Sadr-u's-Sudur of the Empire. Badauni says that jealousy, hypocrisy and envy all the three determined Shaikh Gadai's attitude towards Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.³ In order to discredit him in the eyes of Akbar, Shaikh Gadai carried on a vociferous propaganda against his book M'airaj Nāmah. Bairam Khān Khāw-i-Khānān became a victim to this propaganda and did not receive the Shaikh properly. He discussed with him some of the views expressed in his Risalah in which he had said that in his waking moments he had an interview with Allah and had thus attained superiority over Prophet Muhammad. Apparently Bairam Khān was not satisfied with the Shaikh's explanation and when Gadai was there to create suspicion there could be little hope of any rapprochement. Shaikh Gadai prejudiced Bairam Khān so much against the Shaikh that he became his inveterate enemy and even thought of punishing him. It was with great difficulty that the Shaikh got out of a very precarious situation. Abul Fadl says:

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بوسلہ بمنہ مردم از آسب خانخانان نجات یافتہ

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1. Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, Vol. II p. 323; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 301.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 34; Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II p. 578; Gwalior Namah, (RG.) f. 148; Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 192.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 34.
 4. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II p. 69.

(Through the intercession of some people he got rid of the terror of Khān-i-Khānān).

Finding the atmosphere at Agra uncongenial, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth retired to Gwālior. Ferishtah says: "Due to the retirement of Shaikh Ghauth to his native town Gwālior Akbar was annoyed with Bairam Khān."¹ It was probably in order to make amends for his treatment of the Shaikh and conciliate him that Bairam Khān gave a maintenance allowance (مبلغ)² of one crore tankas to the saint.

The Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin,³ an early biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles, informs us that a jagir of nine lac of rupees was conferred on him. The saint built a khānqāh for himself in Gwālior and spent most of his time in audition parties (sam'a).⁴ Akbar visited him on the plea of getting

1. Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, Vol. II p. 323.

2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 142; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 5. See also Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II p. 578. The following note of the translator on this statement of Badauni deserves to be quoted in full:

"The tanka was worth about 4d. Badauni's statement means that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had a yearly allowance of £ 166,666, 13s. 4d, or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant either in land or money. Badauni probably uses the word مبلغ indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the tanka referred to was the tanka-i-siyah, a copper coin worth only 6/64 of the silver tanka. This would bring Shaikh Muhammad's annual allowance to £ 15, 625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum." Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 9 (Translation).

3. Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin, (MS.) f. 45. It contains lives of Indian nobles from the time of Akbar to 1060 A.H./1650 A.D. The author, Shaikh Farid bin Shaikh Ma'ruf Bhakkari dedicated it to Nawab Shayistah Khan.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 5.

some oxes which he had brought from Gujarat.¹ The saint presented him fine bulls and some other valuable things together with halwa and ointments.² During his conversation the saint asked Akbar whether he had selected his spiritual teacher. On getting his reply in the negative, he stretched out his hand in order to initiate him into his own discipline and remarked: "From this moment I am your spiritual teacher."³ Akbar pretended as if he did not understand the Shaikh's intention. He did not like to displease the Shaikh though he had no special attraction towards him. Abul Fadl very significantly observes:

حضرت شاهنشاهی از فرط محبت و حیا چیزی لبهای آن نداده
نہم کنان برخاستند⁴

(Akbar due to courtesy and shame did not speak and smilingly departed).

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's relations with Bairam Khān could not improve and reached such a state of bitterness that the Shaikh himself began to think of wreaking vengeance upon him.⁵ It is strange that contemporary chroniclers have completely ignored or suppressed this fact. A later historian, Khafi Khan, however, supplies interesting details in this connection and shows that the group opposed to Bairam Khān had tried to enlist at least the moral support of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in their

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1. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II p. 68.
 2. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II p. 68.
 3. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II p. 68.
 4. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II pp. 68, 69.
 5. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubab, Vol. I pp. 143, 144.

proceedings against the Khān-i-Khānān. He writes: "Maham Anka, Adham Khān Koka and Ahmad Khān, son-in-law of Maham Anka, conspired and went to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, explained to him their seditious plan and sought his co-operation."¹

Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni says only this much in this context:

شیخ محمد غوث ابن فتور را در همان عهد نتیجه توجه خویش
میدانست²

(Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairam Khān to his own spiritual attention).

Later on, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth came into silent but serious conflict with a saint who was held in high esteem by Akbar, i.e. Shaikh Sālīm Chishtī. It was nothing but jealousy which led to bitterness between the two. The conflict reached even the disciples of both the saints and disturbed the whole atmosphere. Badauni writes: "On the whole there was less of snobbery among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth than among those of Shaikh Salim, though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other."³

All these conflicts and controversies apart, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth did not refuse help or co-operation to Akbar

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1. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubab, Vol. I pp. 143, 144.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 91.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 139.

in his various undertakings. He played vital role in the occupation of the Chunar fort.¹ Fattu, who was incharge of the fort, was his disciple. Akbar sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Asaf Khan in order to use his influence and facilitate peaceful occupation of the fort. Fattu obeyed the orders of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and surrendered the fort. Fattu was sent to Akbar who bestowed favours upon him.²

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth died at Agra on Ramadan 17, 970 A.H./³1562 A.D. at the age of eighty. His body was taken to Gwālior where he was buried. Two important contemporary works Akbar Nāmāh and Tabaqat-i-Akbari say that he died at Gwālior. But Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni says that he died at Agra and was buried at Gwālior. The Mulla's account deserves greater credence on account of his relations with the son of the Shaikh, Dia-ullah. Later authorities corroborate the account of Badauni.

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 63; Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 170.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 63.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 6; Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 69; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p. 241; Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 93; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 192; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 301; M'aarij-u'l-Wālayat, (MS.) Vol. II p. 584; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 954; Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, Vol. II p. 334.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was a man with broad, tolerant and cosmopolitan views. He was singularly free from all religious bigotry and fanaticism. He treated Hindus and Muslims alike¹ and tried to understand the religious life and thought of the Hindus. When he visited Agra in 966 A.H./ 1558 A.D., 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, who was studying in Agra at that time, wished to pay his respects to him but when he found that the Shaikh stood up to honour every Hindu who came to see him, the fanatic Mulla of Badaun abandoned the idea² of meeting such a liberal saint. One day, however, he saw him riding through a bazar of Agra.³ He was surrounded by a huge crowd. Though he was an old man of eighty at that time but wonderful freshness radiated from his face. He was so enthusiastically busy in returning the salutes that he did not get a moments leisure to sit upright in his saddle.⁴

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 5.

2. اما چون شنید که به عظیم هندوان قیام میکند دل ازان
موس برخاست و محروم ماند
Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 64.

3. اما روزی در بازار آگره دید که سواره می آید و خلق انبوه بهیچ
و پس او را گرفته و از برای رد سلام خلائق و تواضع ایشان هر طرف
زمان زمان خم میشد و فرصت راست نشستن در خانه زمین نداشت

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 64.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 64.

Due to his sympathetic approach towards all people irrespective of religious differences - he became widely popular among the Hindus also. Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court is said to have joined his discipline.¹ In view of his devotion to the Shaikh he was buried near his tomb.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was extremely humane, mild and generous in his relations with all visitors. He was free from all desire of pedantic display and spiritual arrogance. He did not refer to himself as "I," but preferred to call himself "this humble self". Probably this was also due to his excessive faith in pantheism. He considered any affirmation of One's individuality as a negation of faith in Divine Unity. The almost ridiculous extent to which he carried it may be gauged from the fact that while distributing corn, he refrained from using the word man (من)².

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was well-versed in mystic ideology but was not a very great scholar of external sciences. The author of Iqbal Nāmāh calls him an امی (illiterate), probably on account of his ignorance of the religious sciences. His books, Jawāhir-i-Khamsah, Bahr-u'l-Hayāt, Kalid-i-Makhzan,

1. Badshah Nāmāh, Vol. II part I p. 7.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 6.

ایند ریم و نون بفلائی بدھد تا من نہاستی گت

Give this much mim and nun to such and such a person (He used to say this in order to elude the necessity of saying "I").

M'airāj Nāmah, Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh and Kinz-u'l-Wahdat,¹ reveal his mystic aptitude, no doubt, but do not show any profound scholarship. The Jawāhir-i-Khamsah (the five jewels) contains an account of the teachings of his spiritual teacher Shaikh Zahur Hamid. It is so called because it contains five chapters (1) on the worship of God; (2) on the ascetic life; (3) on exorcism دعوت اسماء; (4) on the recital of God's praises; (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge. The Jawāhir-i-Khamsah is a book of practical significance. It does not deal so much with the mystic ideology as the mystic practices. It has been treated as a dastur by the Shattāris all through the 16th and the 17th centuries. The Kalid-i-Makhzan, M'airāj Nāmah and Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh deal with supernatural experiences. These books have been compiled on the pattern of the tales and practices of the Yogis.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, it appears, had working knowledge of Sanskrit² also. Probably he learnt it from the Hindu Yogis during his stay at Chunar. He was so deeply impressed by the life and thought of the Yogis that later he translated

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1. Iqbāl Nāmah (on) p. 109, calls him Umī (ignorant man). Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II p. 583, See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II p. 426. The information is obviously wrong.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 193. Muhammad Ghauthi remarks:

آن همه هانی را از عبارت سنسکرت که زبان کتب واهی گذاراست
مجرد ساخته لباس فارسی پوشانید

Amrit Kund, into Persian under the title of Bahr-u'l-Hayāt.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth left two sons, Shaikh 'Abdullah and Shaikh Diaullah¹.

Amongst his disciples, the following names deserve to be particularly noted: Shaikh Hamid Lar, Raji Sayyid Mustufa, Shaikh Shams-u'd-din, Sayyid Taj-u'd-din bin Baha-u'd-din Dakariyya, Shaikh Iad alias Dood-ullah, Shaikh Ahmad Mutwakkil Ujjaini, Shaikh Allah Bakhs Chishti, Shaikh Sadullah Nahvi, Shaikh Diaullah Chishti, Shaikh 'Abdullah Sufi, Shaikh Makhu, Shaikh Mahmud, Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid Tarik-u'l-Inam, Sayyid Husain, Shaikh Ibrahim Nuri, Shaikh Wasil Kalpi, Shaikh Daood, Shaikh Owaith, Shaikh Tahir, Shaikh Pir, Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din 'Ajayib, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Dhakariyya, Shaikh Khwājah Alam, Shaikh Jewah, Shaikh 'Ali Bengali, Shaikh Manjhan, Shaikh Wali Muhammad, Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din dhākir, Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif.

1. See next chapter.

C H A P T E R I V

DESCENDANTS OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH.

As noted earlier, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth left two sons - Shaikh 'Abdullah and Shaikh Dia-ullah. The former, though in possession of many mystic virtues, did not concentrate on popularizing the Shattāri silsilah. He took up service in the army and naturally the work of the silsilah suffered. The later continued the traditions of his father and lived a life of devotion to mystic practices. It may, however, be noted that it was not through the efforts of the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth that the silsilah really flourished. The real credit for the expansion of the order goes to the talented disciples of the great Shaikh.

Shaikh 'Abdullah¹ :

He was the eldest son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and was known among people as Shaikh Buddha.² From his mother's side he claimed descent from the famous Chishti saint of the

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1. Biographical references are found in the following books: A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. I p.162; Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 383, 384; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 312, 313, 314; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 955; Zakhirat-u'l-Khawanin, (MS.) f. 45; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II pp. 573, 574.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.312; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.)p.955.

thirteenth century, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar.¹

His father had given him the best possible education of those days. Eminent scholars like Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and Maulānā Mubārak Danishmand were among his tutors.²

Shaikh 'Abdullah succeeded his father as his Sajjadah Nashin,³ but he was somehow drawn towards government service and could not devote his attention to the expansion of the silsilah. When Emperor Akbar ordered the construction of a mausoleum on the grave of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, he offered to supervise it.⁴ This gave him an opportunity of showing his character and quality. Akbar was deeply impressed by his honesty and piety and so he associated him with the administration. He performed different types of duties and all very efficiently. In the beginning he moved with the army probably in some religious capacity. Later he was given a very important diplomatic assignment and was sent to Badakhshan.⁵ When he reached the outskirts of Badakhshan,

1. For detailed biographical account see, The Life And Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, by K.A. Nizami (Aligarh 1955).

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 312; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 955.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 312; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 955.

4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 955.

5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.)

Mirza Shah Rukh came out to receive him.¹ This was an unusual expression of regard for an envoy on the part of the Mirza and his officers were surprised at this gesture. While in Badakhshan some theologians also sought interview with him and were deeply impressed by his abilities.²

Shaikh 'Abdullah was also sent to the Deccan with Khān-i-Azam and he gave a good account of himself there also.³ In 999 A.H./1590 A.D. when the government of Mālwah was conferred upon Murad, Shaikh 'Abdullah was sent with him.⁴ Thus there was hardly any job of responsibility on which he had not served with devotion, loyalty and with credit but the fact remains that his work as the Sajjadah Nashin of his father considerably suffered on that account.

As a mark of recognition for his meritorious services to the Empire, he was given the rank of nine hundred horse.⁵ The author of Zakhirat-u'l-Khawanin says that ultimately he

1. Ghauthi writes:

اکبرشاه اورا برسم حجابت و باسم و کلت بصوب مرزا شاهرخ بیدخشان
نامزد کرد مرزا بصافت یکمزل پذیرا شد و بدولتخانه خود باکرام تمام
برد و لوازم مهمانداری بادشاهانه بجا آورد

Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 313.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).

3. Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol.II pp. 383, 384.

4. Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 413.

5. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I on p. 162.

was promoted to the mansab of three thousand horse.¹ He served the army for forty years and retired from service in 1014 A.H./²1605 A.D. After his retirement he returned to Gwalior to dedicate the remaining years of his life to the work of the silsilah. He began to spend most of his time in religious practices at the grave of his father. Six months before his death he abandoned taking anything and subsisted merely on water.³ He died on the 18th of Muharram, 1021 A.H./⁴1612 A.D. and was buried near the grave of his father.

Shaikh 'Abdullah was unique in certain respects. He had been in government service for nearly half a century, but he did not hoard any money. Whatever he earned, he distributed among people. When he died he did not leave cash sufficient even for his funeral expenses. The debt that he had left behind was so huge that it could not be cleared off even by disposing off all his assets.⁵ It is said that he used to remark: "The heart of a true dervēsh remains clean and the hand of a real Sufi works like a sieve. Even if he got the kingdom of East and West, he would not indulge in it."⁶

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1. Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin, (MS.) f.45; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.314; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.314; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.314; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 6. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.314; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Dia Ullah¹ :

Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Dia Ullah had also received instructions in external sciences from Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi.² Besides, he had attended for ten years the lectures of Shaikh Muhammad Tāhir Muhaddith.³ After receiving Khilāfat from his father he went to Agra, constructed a khānqāh and applied himself to mystic practices. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth died, he returned to Gwalior and when his elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdullah, joined the army, he occupied the sajjadah of his father and looked to the work of the silsilah.

Shaikh Diaullah was a very gifted teacher. His contemporary Mulla Badauni who was not very sympathetically disposed

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1. His biographical account is found in Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II pp. 118, 119, 201, 202; Vol. III pp. 121, 122, 123, 124, 125; Akhbār-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 61; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 271, 272; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p. 342; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574; Bahr-i-Zakikhār, (MS.) p. 954.

At some places Badauni calls him Dia-u'd-din (Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 119), though his name was Dia-ullah.

2. Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574.
3. Shaikh Muhammad Tahir was a renowned traditionist of his day. He belonged to Nahrwālah (Patan); and had received instruction in religious sciences from Shaikh 'Ali Muttāqi. He was bitterly critical of the Mehdavis and their religious ideology. He was killed in 986 A.H./1578 A.D. at some place between Ujjain and Sarangpur.

For detailed biographical account see Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 268; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 207, 208; Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, Vol. I p. 436.

towards him felt constrained to remark:

ہرگز مجلس وی پر سخن ہرقت و حقیقت نیست غیر از مراتب توحید و تفرید
چیزی نگرینگزید

("His audiences were never devoid of the talks of ma'rifat (gnosis) and haqiqat (Truth). There was no talk save about the excellence of unity and asceticism.")

Badauni frequently visited him and was impressed by his spiritual qualities. In some respects he considered him superior even to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. He particularly refers to his knowledge of the Quran. He had committed it to memory and could explain the meaning of the Quranic verses so lucidly that 'one was relieved of the necessity of consulting the Quranic commentaries'.² Badauni visited him for the first time at Agra in 970 A.H./1562 A.D. Orthodox and fanatical in his outlook as Badauni was, he did not like the ways of the Sufis. He accosted the Shaikh with the words: As Salam Alakum, shook hands with him and started talking to him. The saint as well as his disciples present there did not approve of the curt and the casual manner in which Badauni had greeted the saint. Some one from the gathering asked him: "Wherefrom have you come?" "From Sahaswan,"³ replied

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.121; Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 342.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.121; Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 342.
 3. It is a Parganah and Tahsil in Badaun District District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, (Badaun) p. 238.

Badauni. They further asked: "Have you made any advance in studies?" Badauni replied that he had studied a little of each science.¹ Since Sahaswan was a small town and its jagirdar, Qulich Chaugan Begi, was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth,² Shaikh Dia-ullah treated him lightly and began to ridicule him. He also beaoned to a jester to scare Badauni and turn him out of the gathering. Badauni realized the delicacy of the situation and began to behave as if he was a nincompoop and understood nothing that was going on in the assembly. The jester started his activity by saying that fine smell was emanating from some one and that his brain was becoming disorderly on that account and those present were asked to take care of themselves. Then he started creating foams in his mouth. A man inquired from Badauni whether he had applied scent to himself. When he replied in the affirmative, the person told him: "This man whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now whenever he smells a sweet scent he starts to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog and tries to bite people. So take care of yourself."³ At this remark all those who were present began to leave the place. Badauni was not the man to be trifled away and ridiculed in this manner. He said that it was curious that while people visited distant

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 121.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 121.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III pp. 121-122.

places and requested saints for help in their misfortunes and their problems were solved, a mad man could not be cured by such a eminent saint as Shaikh Diaullah.¹ Shaikh Diaullah asked him whether he knew how to cure a man bitten by a mad dog. "Yes" replied Badauni. On being interrogated further, Badauni recited a verse from the famous Persian poet, Sa'di:

سگ دیوانه را دارو کلوخ است

"The cure for a mad dog is a clod!"

Badauni further said that Kulukh was a vegetable drug which was used as a medicine for the bite of a dog. Badauni's bold and outspoken replies impressed Shaikh Diaullah, but he wanted to get rid of him. He turned to his disciples and said, "Let us devote ourselves to the names of Allah and Prophet." He then took out a copy of the Quran and began to explain a verse from the Sura-i-Baqr.²

When Shaikh Diaullah started explaining the meaning of the verses to his audience, his disciples assented to all that he uttered and loudly said: "We believe it: we accept it." Badauni did not like this docile attitude of the audience. Then followed a long and acrimonious debate on the interpretations put forward by Shaikh Diaullah. Badauni, on his part, was bent upon displaying his superior knowledge and learning of the Quran. Shaikh Diaullah got irritated. He shut up the Quran and said that he had not studied dialectics. Badauni, who was waiting for the oppor-

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 123.

2. Quran, Sura 2.

tunity, said that he was interpreting the verses of Quran unsupported by tradition. "The connection between the literal interpretation and the metaphorical interpretation, remarked Badauni, "should be investigated." Diaullah now changed the topic and began to put personal questions to Badauni.

The reference to 'literal' and 'metaphorical' interpretation of the Quran shows that probably the conflict between Badauni and Shaikh Diaullah was a conflict of ideologies. Badauni stood for the orthodox and literal interpretation of the Quranic verses in the light of 'traditions,' while Shaikh Diaullah, whose family traditions were one of liberalism and free-thinking, put another interpretation on the Quranic verses. Eleven years after this incident, Shaikh Diaullah and Badauni came face to face in the Ibadat Khanah of Akbar under entirely different circumstances.

Shaikh Diaullah was living under extremely straitened circumstances in Agra when Jalal Khān Qurchi visited him.¹ He was pained to find him in such a miserable plight and reported the matter to Akbar. He said that when he visited him, his household was in such a miserable condition that he had to borrow some seers of pulse.² Akbar summoned Diaullah and provided him with residential accommodation near the Ibadat

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 201.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 202.

Khānah and invited him to participate in the debates also.

One day Akbar asked Mirza Ghiyath-u'd-din 'Ali Akhund, Mirza Akhund and Mirza 'Ali Asaf Khān to put questions on Sufism to Shaikh Diaullah.¹ Asaf Khān recited the following quatrain from the Lawa'ih of Maulana 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmi:

گر در دل تو گل گزید گل باشی
در بلبل به قرار بلبل باشی
تو جزئی و حق گسست اگر روزی چند
اندیشه کل پیوسته کنی کل باشی²

If thoughts of the rose pass in thy heart,

Thou becomest a rose,

If thoughts of the passionate nightingale

pass, thou becomest a nightingale,

Thou art only a part, God is all,

If thou accustom thyself for some days to meditate on

Him who is all in all, Thou

wilt become all."

and asked him as to how Allah could be described both as a "part" and as the "Whole".³ Shaikh Diaullah uttered a few words in a low and subdued voice which none could follow.⁴

Thereupon 'Abdul Qadir Badauni who was always anxious to make a pedantic display of his knowledge said that though in this

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.

quatrain Jāmi had applied the expression "the whole" to Allah, yet in another quatrain he had called Him as being divisible into parts.¹

این عشق که هست جز لاینگه ما
حاشا که شود بعقل ما درک ما
خوش آنکه دد بر نوى از نور یقین
2 مارا بر هاند از ظلام شک ما

As for this love which is a part of
The Indissoluble one (whom) we (love)
God forbid that it should be comprehended
by our intelligence,
Happy will it be for us if there flashes
A ray from the light of certainty
Which will free us from the darkness
Of our doubts.

"These extracts," Badauni continued, "mean that whatever may be understood whether it may be whole or a part is nothing but Allah. Apart from Him there is no real existence." After this debate a relative of the saint, Shaikh Isma'il, introduced Badauni to him and referred also to his meeting with Badauni eleven years earlier. Shaikh Diaullah behaved as if he had no recollection of the incident.⁴

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.
 4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.

Badauni was never reconciled to him. He did not approve of the ways of Shaikh Diaullah. He writes about him. "He has retired to a corner which is a self advertisement. At this time contrary to the traditions of his father he has adopted the dress of the dignified people, indulges in the merriments of life"¹ Probably, it was Badauni's orthodox and fanatic approach towards all problems of religion and politics which made him a bitter critic of Shaikh Diaullah. But this does not mean that Shaikh Diaullah was not a popular figure. He was held in high esteem in his own circle of admirers, friends and disciples, which was sufficiently wide.²

In the year 973 A.H./1565 A.D., Shaikh Diaullah visited Ambethi.³ There he met Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din, a prominent local saint,⁴ who was then explaining the following verse to his audience:

ويستقون فيها كأساً كان مزاجها زنجبيلا ٥ عينا فيها نسى
سلسبيل 5

("17. And they shall be made to drink therein a cup the admixture of which shall be ginger,

18.(Of) a fountain there in which is named Salsabil".)

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 124.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 125.
 3. Ambethi is a village in Mohan Lal Ganj Parganah and Tahsil in Lucknow District, District Gazetteers of the united Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Lucknow) p. 169.
 4. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ma'ruf Jaunpuri who claimed his spiritual descent from Raji Hamid Shah. He died in 981 A.H./1573 A.D. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 188, 189, 272.
 5. Quran S. LXXVI : 17 - 18.

این آیت بآیت دیگر تناقض دارد^۱

("There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the Quran,").

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din got irritated at this remark and angrily retorted:

سبحان الله پدر آنجا غوطه‌ها می‌خورد و محتاج شفاعت کاملی است و پسر اینجا
در کلام خدای عزوجل تناقض اثبات میکند^۲

("Subhan Allah!"³ There (in the next world) the father is dipping in water (i.e. struggling for survival) and seeking intercession of some perfect (saint), and here (in this world) the son is finding discrepancy in the words of God.")

Shaikh Diaullah had intimate relations with Maulana Farid, a cherished student of Sayyid Shah Mir.⁴ It was said that though he had not received higher education in the traditional way, whenever any difficult question was put to him, or the contents of any advanced book were discussed with him, he solved the problem immediately by writing it out. It was strange

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 125.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 125; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 342.

3. Literally the phrase means "God be praised," but herein it is used as a mark of exclamation, expressing surprise.

4. Though originally a native of Samana, he lived at Agra in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Mufti. Due to his piety, devotion and contentment he became widely popular among the people. Scholars and mystics came to him from distant places.

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 119.

that he could not read his own writing and could not solve the problems orally.¹ Some superstitious and credulous people attributed this to super-natural factors.² Once during his conversation Badauni narrated before Shaikh Diaullah all that he had heard about Shaikh Farid.³ He told Badauni that whatever he had heard about Shaikh Farid was a hundredth part of his actual wisdom and attainments. He attributed all that he had attained to the service of sweeping and clearing which he performed at the tomb of Sayyid Shāh Mir.⁴

Shaikh Diaullah tried, according to his capabilities, to maintain the dignity of the silsilah but an unfortunate love-episode damaged the reputation of the Shattāri silsilah at this time. One of the relatives of Shaikh Diaullah fell in love with a dancing girl. The matter reached the ears of Akbar who tried to nip in the bud the love episode by giving the girl in marriage to one of his courtiers, Maqbul Khān.⁵ But the matter could not be solved. One night the lover went to the house where Maqbul Khān lived with the dancing girl, climbed up the wall, and eloped with his beloved. Akbar now summoned Shaikh Diaullah and ordered him to trace

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 119.
 2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 119.
 3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 120.
 4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 120.
 5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 118.

out his relative.¹ Akbar was probably inclined to arrange their marriage but Shaikh Diaullah and other 'ulama considered it contrary to Shariat and so they handed over the girl to Maqbul Khān.² Thereupon the lover committed suicide. When the question of his burial came up, the theologians were not agreeable to permit his burial in the customary religious way. They considered him to have died a renegade. To this objection Shaikh Diaullah replied "He who loves and is chaste, and conceals his love and dies, dies a martyr."³ Though 'Abdun Nabi and other orthodox ulama did not accept this position, Shaikh Diaullah got him buried in the customary manner. On the death of her lover, the girl went into mourning. She retired to his grave and began to sweep it till after some days she also died.⁴

This incident, though not directly connected with Shaikh Diaullah, considerably damaged the position of the family of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.

For many years Shaikh Diaullah remained on the best of terms with Akbar. But a strange incident alienated him

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 119.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 119.

3. شیخ ضیاء الدین میگت کہ مقتضای این حدیث - من عشق و غف
و کم ثم مات مات شهیدا -

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 119.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 119.

from the Emperor. While witnessing a deer fight at Lahore Akbar received a serious wound in his testicles from a deer's horn. All high officials and those associated with the court went to the Emperor to enquire about his health but Shaikh Diaullah somehow did not visit him. Akbar was offended at this indifference and said to Abul Fadl : "Shaikh Diaullah has not remembered me." Abul Fadl communicated it to Shaikh Diaullah who immediately went to the court to see the Emperor. But Akbar sent him to his khanqah on the pretext that he wanted Daniyal's wife, who was expecting a baby, to live in his Khanqah, until she was delivered of the child.¹

Shaikh Diaullah died seven² days after the birth of the child on 3rd Ramadān 1006 A.H./³1597 A.D. He did not leave behind any son. Amongst his disciples the names of Shaikh Swaleh Hafiz, Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman Sufi Sirhindi; Shaikh Hamza Sadda Quraishi, Shaikh Jamal and Shaikh Pir Meeruti have reached us.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 272; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 272; Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 575; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. Maathir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574;

بتاریخی کہ مصدر شد جان بجان سپرد

Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.272; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
The compiler of Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) on p. 342 writes that he died in 982 A.H./1574 A.D. which is incorrect.

Shaikh Swaleh Hafiz¹ :

Shaikh Swaleh Hafiz, a resident of Champanir, was inclined towards the mystic way of life from his early years.² He spent most of his time reciting the Quran. Following the Shattāri traditions he had travelled widely.³ For fifteen years he lived at Agra in attendance of his spiritual teacher. When he died, he went to Mandu and built a khanqah for himself and settled there permanently. Many contemporary Sufis, like Shaikh Akmal-u'd-din Burhan,⁴ Shaikh Owais,⁵ Shaikh Mahmud Jalāl,⁶ Shaikh Isa Burhanpuri,⁷ granted their Khilafat Namahs to him, but his main spiritual affiliation remained with Shaikh Diaullah. Muhammad Ghauthi speaks very highly about him.

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1. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 351; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 851.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 351.
 3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 351.
 4. He is referred to in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 351, and Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 956, but no detailed account is available.
 5. He was a celebrated scholar of Arabic. His mother claimed descent from Amir Shāh Shirāzi who had come and settled in Jaunpur in the reign of Sultān Mahmud. Muhammad Ghauthi saw him in Ahmadabad in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 375, 376.
 6. Shaikh Zahur-u'd-din Mahmud was the son of Shaikh Jalāl. He joined the discipline of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and later received spiritual authority of the Shattariyah silsilah from Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhakir. He died in 996 A.H./1587 A.D. at Mandu. His biographical account is given in Chapter V
 7. He was a disciple of Shaikh Arif and lived permanently at Burhanpur.

For his biographical account see Chapter VII.

Shaikh 'Abdur Rahmān Sufi Sirhindi :

In the beginning he was a disciple of Shaikh Buddha Bilgrami, but later he joined the circle of Shaikh Diaullah's disciples and lived in his Khānqāh for a number of years. But his mystic career was tarnished by a love affair. He fell in love with a woman, named 'Aeshāh, with whom he married subsequently. He died in 995 A.H./¹1586 A.D.

Shaikh Hamza Sadda Quraishi :

A native of Dipalpur, Shaikh Hamza claimed descent from Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Dhakariyya of Multan.² In the beginning he joined the discipline of Shaikh Diaullah, but later he went to Shaikh Mahmud Jalal and learnt Shattāri practices from him.³ He differed from many of the contemporary mystics in that he did not accept futuh, and earned his livelihood by active pursuit of vocation. He prepared drinking vessels and spent a part of his earnings in helping the needy people.⁴

He died in 1005 A.H./1596 A.D. and was buried at Dipalpur. He left behind two sons who followed the mystic traditions.⁵

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 243.
 2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 271.
 3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 271.
 4. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 271.
 5. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 271.

Shaikh Jamāl¹ :

He was a son of Shaikh Bhikari² and had enrolled himself in the discipline of Shaikh Diaullah in 985 A.H./1577 A.D.

Later he lived in the Khanqah of Shaikh Jalāl at Mandu. He maintained friendly relations with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi, the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār. He died in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. leaving behind a son Shaikh Sharif whose biographical account is not found.³

Shāh Pir Meeruti⁴ :

One of the most prominent saints of Meerut, Shāh Pir, after whom a quarter of the city is known as Muhallah Shāh Pir, was a disciple of Shaikh Diaullah. He was held in high esteem

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1. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 160.
 2. He died in 972 A.H./1564 A.D. His three sons Shaikh S'adi, Shaikh Kamal, Shaikh Jamāl were mystics of some repute. Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 160.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 160.
 4. Biographical references are found in the following books: Akhhār-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 118; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani (MS.) pp. 504, 505; Miftah-u't-Tawarikh, p. 240.

by Jahangir who built a red stone building over his grave.¹ He carried the Shattāri tradition of encouragement to Hindi and Sanskrit languages further and used to write amulets (naqsh or ta'wiz) in Hindi.² He is also reported to have been keenly interested in sam'a (audition parties of the mystics). He died in 1040 A.H./³1630 A.D.

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1. Miftah-u't-Tawārikh (p. 240) calls him Murshid (spiritual mentor of Jahangir) — a statement for which no corroborative evidence is available. The following verses which give his date of death may be quoted:

در زمان بلاشک و شهادت
شیخ میراست عارف بالله
از مردان اوج جهانگیر است
که شهنشاه هند و کشمیر است

Miftāh-u't-Tawārikh, p. 240.

2. Akhbār-u'l-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 118; Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p. 504.
3. Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahāni (MS.) p. 505; Miftāh-u't-Tawārikh on p. 240 says that Shah Pir died in 1042 A.H./1632 A.D. which is incorrect.

C H A P T E R V

DISCIPLES OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

Though Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth granted patents of spiritual authority (Khilafat namahs) to disciples belonging to almost all parts of India, he concentrated mainly on Gujarat, Khandesh and Mālwah as chief centres for the establishment of Shattāri hospices. This selection was probably determined by a very careful assessment of the position and spheres of influence of the other spiritual orders. People of the Punjab and the Sind valley were attached with the Suhrawardi silsilah. The rest of northern India was studded with the chishti Khānqāhs. The region covering Gujarat, Khandesh and Mālwah had not, as yet, been firmly controlled by any spiritual order. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth found in these areas a free field for a newly organized silsilah to expand and develop. His eminent Khalifahs, therefore, set up Khanqāhs at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Jamod, Champanir, Boroda, etc.

Shaikh Ibrāhim Nuri¹ :

Shaikh Ibrāhim Nuri, popularly known as Shaikh, was the native of a village Ghiyathpur Jokhiyanah in the Punjab.

1. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG) on ff. 346, 347.

After acquiring elementary education in his native town, he went to Delhi in order to complete his studies. He was only 12 years of age at that time. From Delhi he went to Lahore with a party of Sufis led by Baha-u'l-Auliya Bukhārī.¹ He stayed at Lahore for sometime and attended the lecture of Maulana Ishāq Kakwī.² Then he went to Multān where he lived in the company of Shaikh Kabir Bukhārī. After completing his studies at Multān he returned to Delhi. It was in Delhi that he met Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and decided to join his silsilah. The saint directed his disciple Shaikh Mubārak Danishmand to teach the Shattāri practices to him.³

On receiving spiritual authority (Khilāfat) from Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, he started on mystic itineracy. He visited many places in Iran, Arabia, Egypt and Syria also and met many religious scholars and mystics of these places.⁴

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 346.

2. Shaikh Ishāq was a distinguished scholar and saint of Lahore. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi had also visited him. He originally belonged to Multan. He died in 989 A.H./1581 A.D.

See Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.

4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.

In Bagh^hdad, he met Sayyid Zain-u'l-Abidīn who was the Mutawalli of the tomb of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gilānī.¹

In Egypt he studied Hadith (Traditions of the Prophet) with Shaikh Muhammad Bakri. Then he reached Meccah where he got an opportunity to study at the feet of Shaikh 'Ali Muṭṭāqī.² He did not detain him for long and permitted him to leave for India.³ On his return to India, he came to Surat and began to live with Shaikh Jamāl Nuri.⁴ Later he visited Sayyid Habib,⁵ a saint of Junagarh, and received spiritual authority from him also. He visited Lathi⁶ to see Sultān Khwājah Ahmad Danishmand⁷ a spiritual descendant of Muhammad

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1. Founder of the Qādiri order, Shaikh Abdul Qādir Gilānī, was an outstanding saint of his age. Born at Gilān in 471 A.H./1078 A.D.; he died at Bagh^hdād in 561 A.H./1165 A.D.

For detailed biographical account see al-Dhahabī, Tarikh al-Islam (referred to in Margoliouth's article contributions to the biography of 'Abd-al-Kadir of Jilan, J.R.A.S. 1907 pp. 267-310); al-Yafi'i Mirat-al-Janan iii pp. 347-66; Fawat-al-Wafayat ii pp. 2-3; Nafahat-al-uns pp. 586-90; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar pp. 13-26; Haft iqlim N. 1195, Safinat-u'l-Auliya pp. 43-58; M. al-Dilal Natiijat al-tahqiq (partially translated by T.H. Weir in J.R.A.S. 1903 pp. 155-66) Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya Vol. I pp. 94-5; Ency. Isl. under Abd-al-Kadir (Margoliouth); Brockelmann Vol. I pp. 435-6.

2. For detailed account of his life see Chapter VI.
3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.
4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.
5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.
6. A town in Gujarat. See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVI p. 154.
7. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.

Gisu Daraz of Gulbargah.¹ Then passing through Dongarpur,² Banswara,³ and Mandisor,⁴ he reached Ujjain and settled there in 978 A.H./⁵1570 A.D. He lived and worked there for more than forty years. It was there that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi came to pay his respects to him in 1016 A.H./⁶1607 A.D.

Shaikh 'Abdullah Şufi Shattāri⁷ !

Shaikh 'Abdullah Şufi, son of Kamāl-u'd-din Phool Ibn Shaikh Chand,⁸ was born at Sandilah⁹ on Monday 12th Rabi II 924 A.H./¹⁰1518 A.D. At the age of nine years he enrolled

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1. Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz (ob. 825 A.H./1421 A.D.) was a famous disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh-i-Delhi. He was born at Delhi in 720 A.H./1320 A.D. After the death of his spiritual teacher he went to Gulbargah (in Deccan) and settled there. He was an eminent scholar. For his biographical account see Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 129-134. Mirāt-u'l-Asrār (MS.); Siyar-i-Muhammadi, by Shāh Muhammad 'Alī Samanī, Jawāna-u'l-Kalīm by Sayyid Husaini.
 2. A town in Rajputanah, See, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI p. 368.
 3. Banswara is a town in Rajputanah, See The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI p. 407.
 4. Headquarter of a district of the same name in Gwālior, See The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XVII p. 150.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 347.
 6. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 346.
 7. Biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on ff. 291, 292, 293.
 8. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 291.
 9. Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name, Hardoi District, See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII p. 30.
 10. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 291.

himself as a disciple of Maḥdum Shāikh Safi Saqipurī.¹ Seven years later he went to Shāikh Ilahdad² Ibn Sadullah Uṭhmani who lived at Gopamau and received some education from him. Later he studied Kafiyah and other works in the Khānqāh of Shāikh Mu'izz-u'd-din Bukhārī at Delhi.

From Delhi Shāikh 'Abdullah went to Hissar³ and joined the madrasah of Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Multānī. He studied Tafsir (exegesis) at this madrasah. When the Maulana went to Ahmadabad, he accompanied him to that place and got an opportunity to study Sharah-i-Mawaqif, Sharah-i-Maqasid and some other books with Shāikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavī.⁴ He studied Bazudī, Hidayah and a few other works with Shāikh Mubarak Ḍanishmand⁵ and received further instructions in the Science of ḥadith (Ilm-i-Hadith and Usul-i-Hadith) from Mir 'Abdul Awwal of Daulatabad.⁶ Finally he obtained permission for

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 291.
 2. His detailed account is not found in any tazkirah. Only this much is known that he lived during the 10th century and that he was well-versed in Muslim jurisprudence and Arabic literature. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.85.
 3. Headquarters of the District of the same name in Punjab on the Rewari Bhatinda Line. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIII p. 155.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 6. Son of 'Alai Husaini, he claimed spiritual descent from Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Darāz. The M'aarij-u'l-Wilāyat says that he was a native of Zaidpur, in the suburb of Jaunpur, and later, migrated to the Deccan. He died in 968 A.H./1560 A.D. For his biographical account see M'aarij-u'l-Wilāyat (MS.) Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, Vol. I pp. 427, 428.

teaching Fusus-u'l-Hikam from Maulana Mustufa Rumi.¹ Having completed his study of the ulum-i-zahir (external sciences) at the age of twenty four, he engaged himself in giving instructions to students.² But all along he was in search of an able spiritual teacher. On hearing the name of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, he went to him and joined his discipline. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth entrusted to him in 950 A.H./1543 A.D. the duty of coaching the inmates of his Khānqāh.³ He lived there for ten years. The Shaikh held him in such high esteem that he did not grant Khilafat to any disciple unless he was recommended by Shaikh 'Abdullah.

Later on he went on pilgrimage to Meccah and spent five years at the tomb of the Prophet.⁴ In 981 A.H./⁵1573 A.D. Shaikh 'Abdullah returned to India, visited the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwālīor and spent two years at his grave. Then he went to Agra which had become a Shattāri centre on account of the stay of Shaikh Diaullah. He built a Khānqāh in Agra and settled there permanently in a Mohallah known as Matiya Mahal gali. Shaikh 'Abdullah breathed his last on

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1. Vide Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.

Monday, the 23rd of Jamadi-u'l-Awwal in 1010 A.H./¹1601 A.D. and was buried in his khānqāh.

A celebrated scholar of Arabic and Persian, Shaikh 'Abdullah wrote the following books: Siraj-u's-Salikin,² Isrār-u'd-Dawat,³ Sharah-i-Risalah-i-Kinz-u'l-Isrār-fi-hal-Ashghāl-i-Shattār⁴ and Risālah-i-Sufiya,⁵ Awrad-i-Sufiya⁶ Anis-u'l-Musāfrin,⁷ Sharah-i-Risalah-i-Ghauthiyah.⁸

Shaikh Abdul Wahid, popularly known as Tarik-u'l-Inam.

Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid was the son of Shaikh Muhammad who claimed his descent from Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Yusuf Chanderi,¹⁰ a distinguished disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. His father who had great faith in Sufis, got him enrolled in his youth as a disciple of Khwājah Husain Chishti.¹¹ Among his teachers the names of Shaikh

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292.
2. MS. in Dar-u'l-Ulum, Nadwa.
3. MS. in the Khānqāh, Maner.
4. MS. in the Private collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khān, Bihar.
5. MS. in the Khānqāh, Kakori.
6. MS. in Oriental Khuda ~~Kakori~~ Public Library, Bankipur.
7. MS. in the Private Collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishahir.
8. MS. in Dar-u'l-Ulum, Nadwa.
9. For his biographical account see the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 312, Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni (MS.) p. 448, Bahr-i-Zakikhār (MS.).
10. Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Yusuf was a prominent Khalifah of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya of Delhi and was directed by him to settle at Chandert. For detailed account of his life see, Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 282-288.
11. Vide Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 312.

Muhammad¹, Shaikh 'Abdullah, and Shaikh Mubārak Danishmand of Gwālior are particularly mentioned. These teachers not only instructed him in the external sciences but taught him also the practices of the Shattāri order.

He is known to have subjected his body to severe penitences. It was probably due to Yogic exercises that he could live for days without water. His knowledge of the Shattāri saints and their teachings was very wide. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi thought of compiling a book on the lives of the Medieval Indian saints, he visited Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid at Mandisor in 1014 A.H./²1605 A.D. and collected material from him. He died in 1017 A.H./³1608 A.D.

Shaikh Manjhan:⁴ |

Shaikh Manjhan was born in a renowned Sufi family. His father, 'Abdullah ibn Qadi Khair-u'd-din, claimed his descent from Khulasāt-al-ULāmā, Qādi Tāj-u'd-din Nahvi, while his mother belonged to the family of Qadi Samā'-u'd-din of Delhi.⁵

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1. He is mentioned in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 312.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 312.
 3. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 448.
 4. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on ff. 239, 240.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 239.

On growing up, Shaiikh Manjhan adopted the mystic cult and enrolled himself as a disciple of Sayyid Tāj-u'd-dīn Bukhari who was known for his piety. Sayyid Tāj-u'd-dīn had travelled widely and had obtained spiritual authority from Sufis of different spiritual affiliations. When he visited India and happened to see Shaiikh Muhammad Ghauth, he decided to join the Shattāri order and attached himself permanently to this silsilah. While leaving India he entrusted his disciple, Shaiikh Manjhān, to the care of Shaiikh Muhammad Ghauth.

During his stay in the Khanqāh of Shaiikh Muhammad Ghauth, Shaiikh Manjhan studied Jawāhir-i-Khamsah with its author and performed the practices suggested in it under his supervision. Shaiikh Muhammad Ghauth was so pleased with him that he granted his khirqah, which he had used during his stay at Chunar to him. Shaiikh Manjhān later on migrated to Lakhnauti and started a madrasah there.¹ Muhammad Ghauthi Shattāri speaks highly about his devotion to study, teaching and austerities. When Sher Shah conquered the fortress of Raisen² and renamed it as Islamabad, Shaiikh Manjhān reached there from Lakhnauti. The Afghan ruler appointed him as Shaiikh-u'l-Islam of Islamabad. He lived there for many years and performed the duties of Shaiikh-u'l-Islam but his real

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 239.

2. Raisen is at a distance of 22 miles from Bhopal
See Central India State Gazetteer Series. (Bhopal State)
Vol. III p. 111.

interest was in teaching. He left Islamabad and migrated to Sarangpur¹ and again started giving instruction to students. As he had lost his personal library in Islamabad he wrote many risalahs for the help and guidance of his students. His memory was so prodigious that he prepared these risalahs without any reference to books. His stay at Sarangpur raised its academic reputation and it became a great centre of learning which Ghauthi, in his characteristic hyperbolic manner, compares to Shiraz in eminence.²

In 986 A.H./1578 A.D. when Akbar reached Mālwah, he summoned the mystics of that region. Shaikh Manjhan also met Akbar on this occasion.³

In his old age Shaikh Manjhan severed his relations with his family and friends and migrated to Ashtāh,⁴ at a distance of a few miles from Sārangpur, and engaged himself in meditation in a hospice.⁵ He visited his relations at Sārangpur for the last time in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1001 A.H./1592 A.D. It was at the age of eighty that he breathed his last at Ashtāh. He left behind a son, Shaikh Uthmān who was so well-informed about the lives of the mystics that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi visited him in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. in order to collect material for his book, Gulzār-i-Abrār.⁶

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1. It was a town in the Dewas State, 30 miles from Maksi station on the Ujjain-Bhopal Railway. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII p. 95.
 2. Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 240.
 3. Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 240.
 4. The Headquarters of the Ashtah Tahsil Central India State Gazetteer Series, (Bhopal State) Vol. III p. 91.
 5. Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 240.
 6. Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 239.

Sayyid Husain¹ :

Sayyid Husain belonged to an old Sayyid family of Tirmiz. His great grandfather, Sayyid Jalāl-u'd-din, came from Tirmiz and settled at Saran, a town in the Sarkar of Jaunpur. Sayyid Husain's father, Sayyid Muhammad², migrated from Saran to Gwālior during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi. Tātār Khān Sārni of Gwālior welcomed him and provided him with the necessary facilities.³ Meanwhile Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth also came to Gwālior and stayed with Tātār Khān. An unfortunate incident strained the relations of the two saints. At the time of the murder of Shaikh Bahlul, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was in Gwālior. He got information about the plot before it actually materialized. Immediately he went to see Humayun in order to apprise him of the situation. During his absence his house was looted and his family members were subjected to great harassment.⁴ When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth returned to Gwalior, some people told him that all that had happened to his family members was due to the mischief of Sayyid Muhammad. The mischief-mongers poisoned the ears of Sayyid Muhammad also and told him that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth used to burn amulets in order to bring about early death of his children.⁵ It is strange that despite estranged relations

1. His biographical account is found in the Gulzār-i-Abrār,

(RG.) ff. 161, 162 and the Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
2. For brief biographical notices see Bahār-i-Hayat (MS.), Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 161

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 161; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 162; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 162.

of his father with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Sayyid Husain decided to join his discipline. He was only 17 years of age then. When Muhammad Ghauth migrated from Gwālior to Gujārāt, he accompanied him there. He breathed his last at Mahmudabad, ten kos from Ahmadabad, in 952 A.H./¹1545 A.D.

Shaikh Shams-u'd-din:² !

Shaikh Shams-u'd-din, a native of Shirāz, was an extremely precocious child. It is said that at the age of fourteen he wrote marginal notes on the commentary of Baidavi. He was related to the ruling house of Persia and had come to India disgusted with the treatment of his cousins who were at the helm of affairs. His mother had also advised him to quit the country and take to mysticism. Probably this was a trick through which he managed to get out of Persia. Travelling through Iraq and Arabia he ultimately reached India. At Diu he stayed in the Khānqāh of a local Sufi who was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Some time later he heard about the arrival of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Ahmadabad and he hastened to Ahmadabad in order to see him. He was so attracted by the spiritual glamour of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth that he decided to join his discipline. He stayed with him for some years and

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 162.

2. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 229,230; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) pp. 295,296; Bahr-i-Zakikhār, (MS.).

learnt the practices of the Shattāri order. The Shaikh directed him to go to the Deccan and propagate the Shattāri order. Accordingly he started for the South. Some fallow land near Bijapur attracted him and he decided to settle there and earn his livelihood by cultivating that land. Throughout his life he lived on the yield of this land¹ and preferred Zamin-i-ihya. (cultivation of fallow land) to the alternative mystic practice of accepting unasked for gifts (futuh).

So long as Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was alive, he did not enrol any disciple. It was in his old age that he admitted Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafur to his discipline and granted a khilāfat Nāmah to him.² Shaikh Shams-u'd-din used to visit the tomb of his spiritual teacher every alternate year and during his absence Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafur looked after his khānqāh. He used to halt at Mandu while on his way to Gwālior. Muhammad Ghauthi received instructions from him in the art of making amulets (علم تكبير).³ Shaikh Shams-u'd-din died in 990 A.H. / 1582 A.D. and was succeeded by Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafur.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 229; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 296; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 230.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 230.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 230; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahani, (MS.) p. 296.

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Jewah:

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq, popularly known as Shaikh Jewah, was one of the elder disciples and khalifahs of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. He attained great popularity on account of his abstinence and piety. He did not accept futuh (unasked for gifts) and passed his days in extreme poverty. Once Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth sent to him some bulls loaded with rice and wheat. He declined to accept the gift even of his spiritual master. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was annoyed at his insolent behaviour. He again sent his men to convey to him the message that if he did not accept it, his name would be struck off from the list of Khālifahs. Again he emphatically refused to accept the gift and remarked that the guidance of his spiritual teacher had relieved him both of 'hope' and 'fear'. When the matter was reported back to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, he was amazed at the spiritual strength of his disciple. He rushed to his house and bestowed great favours upon him and said that he was deeply impressed with his firmness and appreciated his conduct because

الاستقامه فوق الكرامه¹

(Perseverance is greater than the power of working miracles).

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 260, 261.

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq attained greater popularity at Gwalior. Huge crowds began to throng him. He did not like this because it meant enormous waste of time. To get rid of his admirers, he migrated to Delhi. When people began to disturb him in Delhi also, he moved to Panipat. But here too he could not get that peace of mind which he longed for. Ultimately he migrated to Badoli and lived there on the bank of a river till his death.¹

Shaikh Jalāl Wāsil²: :

Shaikh Jalāl Wāsil, a native of Kalpi,³ was initiated into the Shaṭṭārī order⁴ by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Being a man of ecstasy he was deeply interested in audition parties.⁵ His piety and sincere dedication to exoteric life elicited praise from Akbar. He died at Kālpi in 999 A.H./⁶1590 A.D.,
of whom
leaving behind three sons, Shaikh Afdal, the eldest, was a scholar of some repute. He died in 1001 A.H./1592 A.D. The

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 261.
 2. For his biographical account see Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 139; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 366, 367; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahānī, (MS.) pp. 346, 347.
 3. Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Jalaun District of U.P. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV p. 318.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 366.
 5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 139.
 6. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 366.

second son, Shaikh Ajmal, was a poet. His nom de plume was Jamili.¹ The third son, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din, was devoted to mysticism. It was he through whom the mystic traditions of Shaikh Jalāl Wāsil were continued.²

Shaikh Sa'dullah:³ !

A native of Biyanah, Shaikh Sa'dullah enrolled himself in his childhood as a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. When he advanced in years Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth blessed him with his khilāfat Nāmāh.

He was an erudite scholar and was particularly known for his knowledge of grammar in which it is said that he had no equal.⁴

Shaikh Sa'dullah believed in perpetual fasting. Besides, he was an strict vegetarian and for seventy years he did not break his fast save with milk and fruits.

During the reign of Salim Shāh (November, 1554 A.D.), Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badauni visited him with his maternal grandmother and stayed with him for some days. He received from

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1. For brief notes see, Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 366.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 366, 367.
 3. His biographical account is found in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 108; and the Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 340.
 4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 108.

him instructions in 'Arabic Grammar also. Shaikh Sa'dullah died in 989 A.H./1581 A.D. and was buried in his own Khānqāh.¹

Shaikh Ibrāhim Miyān Āba:² |

Shaikh Ibrāhim, popularly known as Miyān Āba, was born at Baroach. He visited several saints of his time in search of spiritual guidance but in vain. Ultimately he went to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and felt such spiritual bliss in his company that he joined his discipline.

It was at the invitation of the governor of Khandesh that he came to Burhanpur and settled there. The governor and some other important officers became his fallowers. The Shaikh did not want people to join his order under considerations other than spiritual and so he discontinued enrolling disciples. He died in circa 999 A.H./1590 A.D. ✓

Shaikh Allah Bakhsh:³ |

The ancestors of Shaikh Allah Bakhsh were associated with the Chishti order but he himself was so deeply impressed by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth that he joined the Shattāri disci-

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 108; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 340.
 2. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 247 - 248.
 3. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on ff. 258, 259.

pline. It appears that in his early age he was interested in external sciences (ulum-i-zāhir), but, later on, under the influence of mystics, he gave up all interest in them and turned to the culture of his emotions. He was fond of a life of ecstasy and delighted in audition parties. He died in 970 A.H./1562 A.D.

Shaikh 'Ali :

Shaikh 'Ali¹ left his home in his youth and wandered from place to place in search of a spiritual teacher. While in Awadh, he saw Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in a dream and set out in search of him. He met the Shaikh for the first time at Kilokheri in Delhi and joined his discipline. He lived in the attendance of his spiritual mentor for many years. When Sher Shāh began to harass Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and he decided to migrate to Gujarāt, he accompanied him on his Waderjahreⁿ. His teacher then directed him to go to Ahmadabad, where he settled in the mosque of Imad-u'l-Mulk Rumi. Subsequently Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth also reached Ahmadabad. In 966 A.H./1558 A.D. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth decided to return to Gwalior and left Shaikh 'Ali in Ahmadabad to look after the spiritual requirement of the people² and disseminate the Shattāri order in Gujarat.

1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Sharah-i-Nuzhatul-Arwāh, (MS.); Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 198, 199; Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) pp. 293, 294; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).

2. Sharah-i-Nuzhātul-Arwah, (MS.); Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 199.

Shaikh 'Ali was well-versed in all the traditional sciences. He wrote a commentary on the Nuzhat-ul-Arwah of Mir Sayyid Husaini, a well-known disciple of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Dhakariyya. He died at Ahmadabad after 970 A.H./¹ 1562 A.D.

Shaikh Makhu:²

Shaikh Makhu was another very popular disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. 'Ali 'Adil Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh, held him in high respect. He built a mosque at Zainabad and appointed him as its khatib. But he does not seem to have fully maintained the traditions of the silsilah. He is reported to have fallen in love with a woman. He died in 1010 A.H./³ 1601 A.D. at Burhanpur.

Shaikh Lad also known
as Shaikh Wadūd⁴

Shaikh Lad bin Shaikh Ma'ruf belong^{ed} to a family which claimed its descent from Hadrat Abu Bakr, the first Caliph. After joining the discipline of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth he became known as Shaikh Wadūd. The reason for this title is not known. For about twelve years he constantly lived in

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 199.

2. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 293, 294.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 294.

4. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 248, 249.

attendance of his spiritual master and learnt from him the practices of the Shattāri order. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth migrated to Gujarāt, he could not accompany him due to old age. He lived in seclusion for some years at Ashtah.¹ When Baz Bahādur² came to Ashtah, his soldiers began to visit the Shaikh. Later on Akbar defeated Baz Bahadur and dispersed the soldiers, most of whom were associated with Shaikh Wadūd. Finding his position difficult, he migrated to Khandesh in 974 A.H./1566 A.D. and settled at Jamod.³ He died in 993 A.H./1585 A.D. leaving behind a son, Shaikh Isma'il.⁴

1. The headquarters of the Ashtah Tahsil, Central India State Gazetteer Series (Bhopal State) Vol. III p. 91.

2. Shujat Khān, the governor of Mālwah in the time of Islam Shah, died in 963 A.H./1555 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Baz Bahadur who assumed the title of Sultan. In 1560 Akbar sent Adham Khān and Pir Muhammad Shirwani for the conquest of Malwah. Baz Bahadur was defeated in 1561 A.D. near Sarangpur and Adham Khān was appointed governor of the imperfectly conquered Malwah. Later, due to the misconduct of Adham Khān, Akbar recalled him in November, 1561 A.D. and appointed Pir Muhammad Shirwani in his place. After sometime Pir Muhammad Shirwani again started to pursue Baz Bahādur across the river. As he was riding through the stream his horse collided with a string of camels and threw him, so that he was drowned. This resulted in the temporary restoration of Baz Bahādur. Akbar sent Abdullah Khān Uzbek in place of Pir Muhammad Shirwani who reconquered Malwah from Baz Bahādur. Baz Bahādur remained in exile at the courts of various princes for several years. In the fifteenth year of Akbar's reign he appeared at the court and received a mansab of 1000'.

For his biographical account see the following books: Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II pp.89,90,136,168,169,358; Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I p. 182.

3. A village in the Jalgaon taluk situated 6 miles north-east of Jalgaon in Buldana District, Central Provinces Gazetteers (Buldana District) p. 427.

4. For his biographical account see Chapter VII.

Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil:

Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil belonged to some town in Eastern India. When Sher Shāh came to power he left his home and went to Ujjain where he set up a Shattāri centre. He spent most of his time in mystic contemplation and lived a life of penitence and poverty. He was always reluctant in accepting gifts. Whenever anybody brought futuh (unasked for charity) to him, he accepted it only to the extent of his immediate needs. His life of contentment and devotion endeared him to many people among whom Muhammad Ghauthi, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, deserves to be mentioned particularly. He died in 998 A.H./1589 A.D. and was buried near the fort.¹ Shaikh 'Abdul Latif (Ob. 1007 A.H./1598 A.D.), one of his disciples, settled at Burhanpur and, according to Ghauthi, rendered great service to the expansion of the silsilah.²

Raji Sayyid Mustafa:

Raji Sayyid Mustafa was a descendant of Sayyid Hamid Shāh, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din of Manikpur.³ He was a very sensitive and emotional type of

1. For his biographical account see, Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 249, 250.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 250.

3. Shaikh Husam-u'd-din was an eminent disciple and Khālifah of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i-'Alam, a distinguished chishtī saint of Pandwa in Bengal. For biographical account, see Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 169, 170, 171; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 63, 64.

person. It was in view of his piety that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had given one of his daughters in marriage to him.¹

Raji Sayyid Mustafa took keen interest in audition parties (Sam'a) but was very strict in enforcing the restrictions of time, place and company laid down by the earlier saints. It appears from the Gulzār-i-Abrār that for sometimes he had lived at the court of Akbar also. When Akbar marched towards Mālwah in 984 A.H./1576 A.D. he accompanied the Emperor.

Shaikh Wali Muhammad:² !

A native of Champanir,³ Shaikh Wali Muhammad was an erudite scholar. He wrote a commentary on the Nuzhat-u'l-Arwah of Sayyid Husaini⁴. This commentary interprets Sayyid Husaini's thought in terms of Wahdat-u'l-Wujud and is couched

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 228, 229.
2. For his biographical account see Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 222, 223.
3. Champanir, named after Champak tree, lies mostly in ruins, but it once served as a capital. Its situation is in 22° 29' N. and 73° 32' E. about 25 miles north of Baroda. See also the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. X p. 135.
4. Sayyid Husain was the son of Sayyid Najm-u'd-din, a merchant of Khurasan. When his father visited Multan in connection with his trade Sayyid Husain also accompanied him and met Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Dhakariyya. He was so deeply impressed by the Shaikh that he joined the circle of his disciples. On the death of his father he distributed all the wealth to the needy people and came to Multan and began to live in the khanqāh of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Dhakariyya. He left India after the death of his spiritual master. He was a distinguished scholar of his age. Among his works Nuzhat-u'l-Arwah, Tarb-u'l-Majalis, Zad-u'l-Musafirin, Sar Namah, and Kanz-u'l-Ramuz have been noted by Jamali.

Siyar-u'l-Arifan p. 110.

in extremely, difficult language.

In 982 A.H./1574 A.D. he migrated to Burhānpur where he took up permanent residence. He died in 987 A.H./¹1579 A.D.

Sayyid Tāj-u'd-din:² |

In the beginning of his career, Sayyid Taj-u'd-din received instructions from Shaikh Aman Ullah Panipati,³ a saint of great eminence. But later on he joined the discipline of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and received Khilāfat from him. He settled at Lucknow at the instance of his master. One of his striking features was that ^{he} did not accept gifts or presents ⁿ even from his disciples.⁴

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 222.

2. His biographical account is found in the following books: Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 25; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 311; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).

3. Shaikh 'Abdul Mulk, popularly known as Aman Ullah, was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Hasan who claimed his spiritual descent from Raji Sayyid Hamid Shāh. He studied external sciences with Shaikh Maudud Lari. He was deeply interested in the philosophy of Wahdat-u'l-Wujud (unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world) and his two compilations Risalah-i-Athbat-u'l-Ahdiat and a commentary on the Lavahi of Abdur Rahman Jami deal with this theme. He died in 957 A.H./1550 A.D. Among his Khālifahs Shaikh Tāj-u'd-din Dhakariyya Ajodhni, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Ajodhni, Shaikh Saif-u'd-din father of Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi deserve to be particularly mentioned.

His biographical account is found in the following books. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, pp. 230, 231; Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, pp. 424, 425.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 25; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 311; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Shaikh Hamid Lār: :

His name is mentioned among the khālifahs of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth by the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār, but no details about his life or activities have been supplied except the fact that when Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth reached Gujarāt and the local Sufis raised hue and cry against him, it was Shaikh Hamid Lar who, along with Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi supported the Shaikh and silenced the critics against him.¹

Another Khalifah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, to whom reference is made by the author of Tabāqāt-i-Shahjahani, was Shaikh Bayazid, the soap-maker (sabungar). He lived at Sirhind. In 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. some epidemic broke out in Sirhind and Shaikh Bayāzid also fell a victim to it.²

Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir³ :

Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir belonged to a family of traders but he gave up his family profession and took to mysticism. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth visited Champanir, he paid a visit to him and got himself enrolled among his disciples. In 952 A.H./1545 A.D. he accompanied his mystic

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 223.
 2. Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 453.
 3. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 226; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 295; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

teacher to Gwalior and performed the spiritual practices recommended in Jawahār-i-Khamsah under the supervision of the Shaikh. When the Shaikh was satisfied about his spiritual attainments, he granted his khilafat to him and asked him to settle at Champ^anir. He attracted many disciples from Mandu, Kalpi and other places. Among his distinguished disciples the names of Shaikh Amanullah ibn Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din Kalpvi, Shaikh Abdul Latif, Shaikh Muhammad Hai, Miyan Miyanji bin Daud and Muhammad Ghauthi the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār, have been particularly mentioned by the hagiologists. His principal representative at Mandu was Shaikh Mahmud ibn Shaikh Jalal¹ who attracted a very large number of disciples from all over Malwah.² It was in his old age that Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din left Champanir and settled at Baroda where he built a khānqāh also. He died at Baroda in 989 A.H./1581 A.D.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi³ !

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi deserves the same place in the history of the Shattāri order which Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Kirmani, popularly known as Amir Khurd, the author of Siyar-u'l-Auliya, occupies in the history of the Chishti order. But

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 226.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 226; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 295.

3. Besides auto-biographical references in Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) ff. 233, 242, 256, 272, 290, 293, 297, 298, 312, 334, 346, 356, 368, 371, 376 - 380 - 385. See also Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.), p. 488; Zubdat-u'l-Maqāmāt, p. 154.

for him it would have been extremely difficult to reconstruct the history of the Shattāri order and evaluate the nature and extent of its influence on contemporary life.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi's father, Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa, was a native of Ahmadabad but at the age of twenty four he migrated to Lonehra¹ and settled there. It was here that he married ~~with~~ the sister of a reputed saint of Lonehra, Shaikh Miyan Jeo. As many of the relations of his wife lived at Mandu, Shaikh Hasan also shifted to that place.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi was born at Mandu on Rajab II, 962 A.H./1554 A.D.,. He was only five years of age when his maternal uncle, Shaikh Miyan Jeo, put him in a madrasah managed by Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din Quraishi. His father Hasan had great affection for him. When he was on his death bed, he requested his friends and relations to arrange for his education and look after his academic progress upto the age of thirty years.

Ghauthi had inherited from his father a deep love for knowledge and learning. The last will of his father infused hope and courage in him and began to plan about his studies. His mother was, however, not interested in his studies.² In order

1. A town in the suburb of Mandu.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 379. A son was born to him at the age of 26 and he named him as 'Abdul Awwal. (f. 385). A second son whom he named Hasan Muhammad was born in 993 A.H./1585 A.D. (f. 386).

to divert his attention from studies and mysticism she married him at the age of seventeen.¹ But this marriage also could not dissuade him from pursuing his studies.

Muhammad Ghauthi, like his father, did not accept gifts or allowances from anybody. When he was twenty years of age he was put to severe tests on that account. He had to maintain his family and he did not want to deviate from the path of his father. He started going to the jungle every day in order to collect vegetables on which he and all of his family members subsisted for some years.² Though he had cordial relations with some wealthy businessmen but he never accepted anything from them. His determination to follow the mystic tradition ultimately impressed his mother also and she also started encouraging her son. In 990 A.H./1582 A.D. he went to Ahmadabad to complete his education at the feet of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi. Two years later when Sultan Muzaffar (980 A.H./1572 A.D.) occupied Ahmadabad, Muhammad Ghauthi was in Ahmadabad.³ Ghauthi spent four years at the seminary of Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and when he returned to Mandu his age was 31.

Ghauthi had intimate friendly relations with many eminent religious and literary figures of the age. Among others, he was a friend of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi also and

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 379.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 379.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 385.

was inspired by his work Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār to undertake a similar work dealing with the lives of the Indian Sufis.¹ In 1010 A.H./1601 A.D. when Akbar proceeded towards the Deccan, Shāikh Muḥammad Ghauthi, was at Burhanpur. He met many prominent sufis who were moving with the imperial forces. Many of the prominent saints of Mandu, like Shāikh Uṭmān ibn Ladan, Shāikh Danishmand, Pir Bajar Manduwala, Shāikh Kamāl-u'd-din, Miyan Miyanji bin Daud, Shāikh Zahur-u'd-din Mahmud bin Jalal, Shāikh Hamza Sadda Quraishi, Shāikh Amanullah, Shāikh Mubarak Siddiqi Shattāri, Shāikh Sharif Muhammad, Shāikh Khudā Bakhsh, Shāikh Swāleh Hafiz, Sayyid Hasan Husaini, Shāikh Nizam Ambithi, and Shāikh Daud Shattāri were his personal friends.

Ghauthi's contribution to the Shattāri silsilah is, as has already been pointed out in his Gulzār-i-Abrār. He took considerable pains in collecting material for this work. In 982 A.H./1574 A.D. he went to Agra. His cousin, Shāikh 'Ali Shams, who was at that time studying with Shāikh Ḍiaullah introduced him to his spiritual teacher.² Muḥammad Ghauthi lived in the company of Shāikh Ḍiaullah for five months. Here he contacted other saints also. He met Khawajah 'Abdul Shahid, Shāikh Ishāq Qalandar and Shāikh Tāhir, and obtained biographical information from them. Later he visited Baroda, Ahmadabad and some other places in Gujarat in order to acquaint himself with the life and activities of the Shattāri saints. In 1000

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 371.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 272.

A.H./1591 A.D., when Faidi went to the Deccan, Muhammad Ghauthi accompanied him in order to collect material for his book. The ruler of Ahmadnagar, Burhān-u'l-Mulk, (999 A.H./1590 A.D.) showed great regard to him and so he stayed there for one year. During his visit to Burhanpur he lived in the Khanqāh of Shaikh Isa and on his return to Mandu maintained correspondence with Shaikh 'Isa.¹ Shaikh 'Isa supplied considerable data to him. In 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. Ghauthi visited Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid, known as Tarik-u'l-Inam, at Dasor (Mandsor) and collected some information about the Shattāris from him.² In 1013 A.H./1604 A.D. he went to Ujjain in order to consult Shaikh Kamāl Muhammad 'Abbasi about his work.³

The Gulzār-i-Abrār is a very important contribution of Ghauthi to the hagiological literature of medieval India. He has preserved the account of many saints of Malwah, Khandesh, Burhanpur and the Deccan. But Ghauthi's style — florid, verbose and rhetorical, as it is — makes his book more literary than historical. He does not come up anywhere near the great traditionist Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi whose Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar is a remarkable work for it gives maximum of information in minimum of space. Ghauthi's position is just the reverse. He gives the minimum of information in the maximum of space.

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 334.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 312.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 298.

Ghauthi was, as the author of Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni rightly calls him, an erudite scholar. His book bears testimony to his knowledge of the Qurān, the traditions of the Prophet, the mystic literature and the works of Persian poets. He is also reported to have left a diwan (collection of verses) but it has not survived. Except a few quatrains and verses quoted in the Gulzār-i-Abrār, nothing has survived to give us an idea of the poetic talent of Ghauthi. His reputation as a scholar and saint rests mainly on his prose-work, the Gulzār-i-Abrār. He died at Mandu in 1027 A.H./1617 A.D.

Shaikh Wali Muhammad² |

He belonged to a qadi family of Ahmadabad. In 981 A.H./1573 A.D. when he was eighteen years of age Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir passed through Ahmadabad. He went to see him and was so charmed by his mystic ways that he joined the circle of his disciples and accompanied him to Gwalior. Later Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din sent him to Shaikh Mahmud Jalāl for receiving further mystic training. It was at the instance of Shaikh Mahmud Jalāl that he went to Burhanpur and settled there. He died there in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.

1. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 488.

2. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on f. 293.

Shaikh 'Abdul Latif¹ :

A native of Nahrwalah, Shaikh 'Abdul Latif, visited Champanir and joined the discipline of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir. He lived with his Shaikh for a number of years. In 977 A.H./1569 A.D. he obtained his permission to visit the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. While on his way to Gwalior he met Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din at Narnaul. At Senchra² he spent some months in practising austerities. On his return from Gwālīor,³ he settled in Baroda where he died in 1007 A.H./1598.

Shaikh Muhammad Hai⁴ :

A native of Ahmadabad he received spiritual authority of enrolling disciples in the Shattāri silsilah from Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir who asked him in 983 A.H./1575 A.D. to return to his home and start propagating the teachings of the silsilah. He was always bare-headed and was therefore known as Barhain-ahsar.

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1. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff.299,300,301; and the Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. Senchra was at a distance of seven kos from Gwalior. It had an ideal atmosphere for performing spiritual exercises. Once Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth also had performed certain practices there, and from that time Shattāri Sufis visited the place. Vide Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f: 300.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 301; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) (ff. 311, 312); and Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Miyan Miyanji bin Daud¹ :

Miyanji was a maternal uncle of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi, the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār, and had become the disciple of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir. He disliked the acceptance of futuh and preferred to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow. With his meagre resources he started business. Whatever he earned he utilised in maintaining his household and in helping the needy sufis. He passed away in 985 A.H./1577 A.D. at Ahmadabad at the age of eighty. He left behind two sons : Taj Muhammad and Shaikh Husain. Tāj Muhammad took up a job in the army and Shaikh Husain continued the traditions of his father. ✓

Among other disciples of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhākir, the names of Shaikh Burhān of Ahmadabad, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Siddiq, Shaikh Amanullah, Shaikh Zahur and Shaikh Da'ud have been mentioned by Ghauthi. Shaikh Burhān² was known for his learning. Ghauthi had learnt grammar from him. Shaikh Ahmad³ had committed the Qurān to memory and used to recite it in such a thrilling voice that whoever heard him reciting it, fell in ecstasy.

Shaikh Siddiq⁴ was the Son of a druggist and devoted most of his time to religious meditation.⁵ ✓

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.220; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 220, 221.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 224, 225.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 242.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 242.

C H A P T E R V I

SHAIKH WAJIH-U'D-DIN 'ALAVI AND EXPANSION OF THE

SILSILAH IN GUJARAT

It was due to the efforts of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi¹ that the Shattāri order struck roots in the soil of Gujarat. He was one of the most distinguished scholar of India during the sixteenth century. His madrasah at Ahmadabad was regarded as one of the biggest centres of Muslim learning and students from distant places gathered here to receive education in external sciences. His association with the Shattāri silsilah considerably enhanced its prestige in the academic and the religious circles of the country.

Shaikh 'Alavi's real name was Sayyid Ahmad but he became known with his title Wajih-u'd-din. He traced his genealogy as follows: Wajih-u'd-din Ahmad bin Qādi Sayyid Nasrullah bin Qādi Sayyid 'Imad-u'd-din bin Qādi Sayyid 'Ata-u'd-din bin Qādi Sayyid

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 63; Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 480-481; A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. I p. 166; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II p. 373, Vol. III pp. 43-44; Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.); Iqbal Nāmāh, p. 109; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 211; Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 110; Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p. 157; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) ff. 261, 262, 263, 264; M'aarij-ul-Wilayat, (MS.) Vol. II p. 584; Tabaqat-i-Shah-jahani, (MS.); Risalah-i-Shazaliyah Shattariyah, (MS.) pp. 88, 94; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. II p. 44; Safinat-ul-Auliya, pp. 193, 194; Miftah-ut-Tawarikh, p. 177; M'aathir-u'l-Kiram, pp. 196 - 197; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 966.

Mu'in-u'd-din bin Sayyid Bahā-u'd-din bin Sayyid Kabir-u'd-din. Sayyid Kabir-u'd-din left Medinah and came to Gujārāt during the reign of Muzaffār Shāh I (709 A.H./1309 A.D.) and settled at a place known as Patri.¹

The Sultāns of Gujārāt showed great consideration for the religious learning of Sayyid Kabir-u'd-din and appointed qadis from his family. Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din's father, Shaikh Nasrullah, also was the Qādi of Champanir. As Sultan Muzaffar II (1511 - 1525 A.D.) was very favourably disposed towards him he took him to Ahmadabad and gave him a place very near his palace. He was assigned the duty of leading the congregational prayers.²

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was born on Muharram 22, 910 A.H./³ 1504 A.D. at Champanir. The word "Shaikh" is the chronogram of the date of his birth (ش + ی + خ = 910). During his early seven years, he lived at Champanir with his father and received his early education from him. He committed to memory the entire text of the Qurān at an early age. In 917 A.H./1511 A.D. when

1. Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Vol. II p. 44.

2. Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Vol. II pp. 44 - 45.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 43 and Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 317 says that he was born in 902 A.H./1496 A.D. But this does not seem to be correct as no earlier authority confirms it.

Sultān Mahmud Begda died and Sultan Muzaffar II (1511 - 1525 A.D.) ascended the throne, Shaikh Naṣr-ullah 'Alāvi, too went to Ahmadabad. It was there that Wajih-u'd-din received lessons in Exigesis (Tafsir) from eminent theologians. He devoted his time and energy to acquiring the ulum-i-zāhir (external sciences). His uncle, Sayyid Shams-u'd-din, also taught some books to him. Later he learnt Ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet) from Sayyid Abul Qasim, Muhammad Malki and Abul Barakat Banbani 'Abbasi. Maulana 'Imad-u'd-din Tarmi and Abul Fadl Mazhar-u'd-din Muhammad Gazruni instructed him in various other religious sciences.¹ He completed his studies when he was thirty three years of age.² Subsequently Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din received mystic training also and got himself initiated in the Chishtiyah and the Maghribiyah orders.³ He visited Shāh Qādin Chishti and lived in his Khānqāh for sometime in order to receive training in the Chishti mystic practices. When Shāh Qādin died, he visited Miyan Badr-u'd-din Abul Qasim Suhrawardi, Shaikh Najm-u'd-din, and Sayyid Kabir-u'd-din Majzūb.⁴

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din set up a madrasah soon after completing his education in 'ulum-i-zahir. His erudition attracted many students. The ruler of Gujarat was so deeply impressed by his learning that he constructed rooms to provide residential accommo-

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 4.

2. Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Vol. II p. 44.

3. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 9.

4. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 11.

dation for his students. The state also gave stipends and scholarships to students and appointed a physician to look after their health. The royal kitchen supplied food to the students. Till he attained the age of sixty-four Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din continued to teach in his madrasah. In the beginning Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was the only teacher, but gradually the number of teachers multiplied as the number of students grew larger and larger. Barring the primary education, the following subjects were included in the syllabus: Exigesis and its Principles (Tafsir and usul-i-Tafsir), Tradition and its principles (Hadith and usul-i-Hadith), Fiqh and its principles; Rhetoric, Logic, Philosophy, Astronomy etc. Those who desired to follow the mystic path were initiated into his discipline by the Shaikh after they had completed their studies. Besides the heavy duties of looking after the madrasah, he maintained a regular office for issuing fatwas.¹ Though he had appointed responsible scholars to deal with minor problems, he personally dealt with all important problems and signed all the fatwas himself. The work of issuing fatwas became all the more heavy when the government began to approach him for religious decrees. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth came to Gujarat and Shaikh 'Ali Muttāqi issued a fatwa against him, Sultān Mahmud III (1537 - 1553 A.D.) referred the fatwa to Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din for his opinion.²

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) ff. 7, 10.

2. Muntakhab-ūt-Tawārikh, Vol. III pp. 43, 44. Safinat-ūl-Auliya; p. 194; Miftah-ūt-Tawārikh, p. 177.

Inspite of all the popularity and respect which he commanded, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was always in search of a really gifted spiritual teacher to guide him on the mystic path. The circumstances under which he had joined the discipline of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth have already been discussed in an earlier chapter.¹ In fact, the Shattāri silsilah attained great eminence when Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din joined it. Even Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth very generously confessed: "This crowd of people which throngs me is all due to him."

اری این غوغا و هجوم مردم بر من موجب آنست²

Simple Life.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din led a very simple life.³ He used to put on rough and cheap clothes and never aspired for any material comfort. Even in the matter of futuh (unasked for charity) his practice was that whatever came to him, he distributed it among the needy people.⁴

Following the tradition of earlier mystics who considered income from state - sources as illegal,⁵ he did not take anything

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1. See Supra Chapter III
 2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 1.
 3. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 317.
 4. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III pp. 43-44.
 5. Imam Ghazzali has discussed this attitude of the early mystics in his Ihya-u'l-ulum (Chapter IV) and has justified it. He remarks:

جميع ما في ايديهم حرام

("All that is in the hands of these rulers is prohibited.").

at his father's house because he had acted for sometime as a qādi. "You are a Qādi", he told his father, "and there is a possibility of your servants ignoring the Islamic traditions while performing their duties". To this his father replied that he too was particular about this matter and it was due to his piety that Allah had blessed him with a virtuous son.¹

Moral Teachings :

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi was a great moral teacher. He expected and preached high moral standards in all human dealings. He hated slander and back biting. One day one of his students started criticising a jagirdar. The Shaikh told him that the jagirdar's attitude was beneficial to all people and particularly to the devotees of Allah. By refusing help to the saints he weaned away their hearts from greed, demand, ambition and desire.² There was hardly any meeting in which he did not preach and propound some ethical principle. Often he illustrated the working of these principles in his own life.

It was on account of his high reputation for honesty, truthfulness and probity that people used to keep their ornaments and valuable articles in his custody. Even the wife of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Arsalan, a powerful Abyssinian noble who held the jagir

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-ud-din , (MS.) f. 4.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 264.

of Broach,¹ used to keep her ornaments and jewellery in his custody. It is said that she had spent several years at his Khānqāh. Another notable figure of Gujarat, Sher Khān, son of Itimād Khān, also used to keep his valuable articles in the custody of the Shaikh.²

Relations with the Sultans
and the bureaucracy.

Though Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was not, in the least, interested in any political problem of his day nor was he keen on establishing contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy, the Sultāns and the officers looked to him for moral support and spiritual blessings. On several occasions Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarāt (932 A.H./1525 A.D.) sought his spiritual help and intercession. Sūltān Mahmud III (1537 - 1553 A.D.) maintained amicable relations with him. The Sūltān was a frequent visitor to his seminary. Once the Shaikh sent a letter to him requesting him to pardon some women who were convicted on some charge. Out of respect for the Shaikh's wishes, the Sultān at once forgave them and kept the letter with him with the remark : "It should be placed in my grave at the time of burial."³

1. For account of his life see Gujarāt, Bayley pp. 411, 417, 422, 423, 430; also Commissariat, p. 337.

2. Zafar-ul-walah-ba-Muzaffar-walah, Vol. II p. 605.

3. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 14.

Whoever approached the Shaikh for help in distress was never disappointed. Once a prisoner, who was being taken to the scaffold, saw him and implored him to save his life. The Shaikh enquired about him and when he came to know that the man was innocent and was being wrongly convicted, he approached the Sultān^{and} requested him to pardon him. The Sultān accepted his recommendations with the remark : "This man, as you say, is innocent and deserves to be set free, but if you had pleaded for a criminal, I would have forgiven him also."¹

Once some poor women came to him and reported that some government officers urged them to construct their houses with baked bricks otherwise they would be demolished. These women had no means to carry out the government orders. The Shaikh wrote a letter to the Sultān requesting him not to demolish the huts of the poor folk. The Sultān was so impressed by this letter that he got the huts rebuilt with baked bricks at his own cost.²

The ladies of the royal haram also showed great respect to him. In 974 A.H./1566 A.D. Chingiz Khān³ occupied Ahmadabad and wanted to take the ladies of the former Sultān into his own haram. At such a critical juncture the ladies approached the Shaikh and sought his protection. The Shaikh was so dis-

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 15.

2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 15.

3. Chingiz Khān was the son of Imād-ul-Mulk Arsalān. For brief account see, Commissariat, Vol. I pp. 467-469, 493, 495, 496, 517.

gusted with this action of Chingiz Khān that he prayed for his fall. The credulous medieval historians say that it was due to his prayers that Chingiz Khān was killed.¹

When Akbar crushed the revolt of Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Mirza 'Aziz Koka informed him that the property of some rebels was found in the house of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. Akbar summoned him to his presence and asked:

شمارا با مال این امر چه مناسبت²

(What connection have you with such matters?)

The Shaikh replied:

"Acquaintance and courtesy made me give them one of my houses."³

Akbar was impressed by this honest and straightforward confession and so he did not take any action against him.

Relations with the 'Ulāmā. :

Himself primarily an 'alim, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din maintained cordial relations with other 'ulama of Gujārāt. Despite the fact that he was an ardent admirer and a cherished disciple of

1. Zafar-ul-Walah-bā-Muzaffar-Walah, Vol. II p. 605.

2. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 63.

3. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 63.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, who was so severely^e condemned by Shaikh 'Ali Muṭṭāqī,¹ he did not show any hostility towards Shaikh 'Ali Muṭṭāqī. He used to say about him : "One ought to obey the letter of the law after the manner of Shaikh 'Ali Muṭṭāqī and the spirit(of the law) after the manner of my spiritual teacher."² Thus his aim was always to bridge the gulf between the 'ulānā and the mystics. In his own person at least he had successfully achieved this harmony.

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1. Shaikh 'Ali Muṭṭāqī was born at Burhanpur in 885 A.H./1480 A.D. During his childhood his father got him admitted into the discipline of Shah Bajin Chishti. Sometime later he went to Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Muṭṭāqī stayed in his Khānqāh at Multan and learnt at his feet. Subsequently he migrated to Meccah and studied with Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri, Shaikh Muhammad and Shaikh Nur-u'd-din. He was known for his knowledge of the traditions of the Prophet. According to the author of Akhbar-ul-Akhyār he had compiled more than one hundred works. Of these the following are available: Shaon-ul-Manzilat, Kanz-ul-Amal, Munhiḥ-ul-Amal, Akmal-ul-Munhiḥ-ul-Amal, Muntakhab Kanz-ul-Amal, Alfusuḥ Sharah-i-Jam'i-ul-usul, Shama-il-un nabi, Al burhan-fi-'Alamat Mahdi Akhir-uz-zaman, Al un wan-fisuluk-un-niswan, Al Burhan-ul-Jali-fi-M'arfatul-wali, Almawahib-ul-aliyah fil jam'a ben-ul-hikam-ul-Quraniyah-wal-hadithiyah, Jawam'i-ul-kilam fil mawa'iz wal hikam, Tatvib Sharah-ul-hikam al ataiyah al musamma bil tambih, Zad-ut-talibin, Asrar-ul-Arifin, N'am-ul-M'iyar wal Maqyas li marfath Maratib-un-nas, Fateh-ul-Jawad, Nazm-ud-durar. He died in 975 A.H./1567 A.D. at Meccah.

For his detailed biographical account see Zad-ul-muttāqin; Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, pp. 245 - 257; Ash'ath-ul-Lam'aat, Vol. III pp. 316, 317; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 259-260; Maathir-ul-kirām pp. 192-193; Safinat-ul-Auliya; pp. 191-192; Abjad-ul-uloom p. 895; Subhtul Marjan p. 43.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 45.

Relations with the non-Muslims.

Due to his piety and deep humanism, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din became popular with the large number of non-Muslims who flocked to him in order to seek his spiritual help and blessings. One day he was returning from a mosque, when two yogis met him and accosted him. "We have come all the way from Delhi to see your mystic qualities," they told the Shaikh. The Shaikh took them, hand in hand, to his house and taught some mystic practices to them. One of his disciples asked him whether he had enrolled them as his disciples. The Shaikh replied in the negative.¹

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din's interest
in the Hindivi Language.

Since the Shaikh came in contact with all sorts of people - high and low, Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, educated and illiterate - his Khānqāh became a meeting place for people from all walks of life and, as was inevitable, a common lingua franca also developed in his Khānqāh. The Shaikh himself used to speak in Hindivi.² His collection of malfuzāt contains the following Hindivi sentences.

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 4.

2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.)

شیخ فرمودند کہری نادان مین کہری نادان مین -

The Shaikh said : they are simpletons! They are simpletons!

رات دن خدا جنہونکی مدح کرے

Those whom Allah may praise day and night.

دنیا داران اینچ مین -

The wordly¹ people are indolent.

مہین رسول کے لوگ مین -

We are the people of the Prophet.

نہ ہون تو ذوق نہ ہوئی

Oh ! no pleasure this way!

بہو نواج ہوی سونکری

Well, If you are annoyed, dont do it.

بہو مزاج ہوی سونکری

Well, leave it if you so desire.

اینون کون کیا

What have we got to do (with it)?

این جھک مار قبول کریگا -

Willy nilly he will have to accept it.

تمہاری بلا ریاضت کرے -

What ~~you~~ have you to do with penitences!

سب چھوڑ دھڑے نوشتاب فائدہ ہو جائے -

If all is left (to the mercy of Allah), profit would come forth with .

وہ کیا ہووی جو احمد آباد کی بازار میں

What is there in the market of Ahmadabad?

جب ترقی کوینگی این درس کہیں کی -

They would make progress and give lessons.

اما شیخ علی کا تقویٰ کہان مرا مکان کہان -

Oh! the abstinence of Shaikh Ali and the humble house of mine!

میری تائی کہیں خدمت کی جاتی نہیں -

I do not visit anybody.

میان صہنتہ اللہ جہوردی

Miyan Sibghat Ullah! leave it.

یوں رہتی چلو جو -

Follow such traditions.

تمہیں اپنا رہتی ہو

You live here.

ہوں ہوں تو بھی کوئی ناؤ -

Do'nt come to me even if I die.

ناقابل کہیں کا! برای زر سلاتین ہورہا ہی -

Damn unworthy! It is for gold that he is running after rulers.

ولیم کیا صفات ہوتیاں ہیں -

What are the attributes of the walis!

منجہ کہیں اد کی عقل ہی -

I too have the intelligence to understand it.

تقویٰ اجہوت جانا

Abstinence would have been abandoned.

فقیر پر فرض تو نہیں -

It is not compulsory for the faqir.

He followed and encouraged the early mystic tradition of carrying conversation in the language of the masses. The fact that Gujarat later on emerged as a great centre of Hindivi language shows that his efforts in this direction bore fruit. In fact it was he who prepared the mental climate which produced the Gujrati Urdu writers and poets of the 18th century.

As Scholar and Teacher. :

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was a scholar and teacher par excellence.¹ He devoted his long life to writing books and instructing his pupils. Students came to him from far and near and he took keen personal interest in their moral and intellectual development. There was such a charm in his lectures that even government servants flocked to his seminary. Sayyid Khwajah 'Alā,² a notable Amir of Akbar, abandoned government service and joined the circle of his pupils.

1. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I p. 166; Akhbār-ul-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 110.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 263.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din is reported to have written a very large number of books,¹ but only a few have survived.

1. Commentary on Talvih.² (Arabic)

Talvih is one of the most important books on the principles of fiqh and was prescribed for studies in Muslim law in the syllabus of those days. The Shaikh wrote marginal notes on it.

2. Commentary on al-Muwaqif.³ (Arabic)

Al-Muwaqif is an outstanding work on scholastic theology. When the book was compiled in the fourteenth century by Qadi 'Add-u'd-din, Muhammad bin Tughluq had expressed a desire for the dedication of this book to him. Many scholars wrote commentaries on it. Shaikh Wajih-ud-din's commentary is considered one of the best.

3. Commentary on Jam-i-Jahān Numāh.⁴

Jami-Jahān Numāh is a well known work on Islamic

1. The author of Akhbār-ul-Akhyār writes:

بر اکثر کتب شرح و حواشی و تالیفات هم دارد

On large number of books he wrote commentaries and marginal notes and compiled original works too. Akhbār-ul-Akhyār p. 157; See also Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.264; Akhbār-ul-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 110B.

2. (MS.) at Nadwah and the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.
3. (MS.) in the private collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.
4. (MS.) in the Aligarh Muslim University Library and the Private collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.

mysticism and was compiled in 785 A.H./1383 A.D. by Muhammad bin 'Iḍḍ-ud-din bin 'Adil bin Yusuf Maghribi. Due to its popularity various commentaries were written on it. Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din also wrote a commentary on it and lucidly explained the main idea of the pantheistic philosophy as adumbrated in this work.

4. Risālah-al-Sakaziah¹ (Arabic)

It is a small brochure comprising of fifteen folios and deals with rhetorics and syntax. It supports Maulānā Jalāl-u'd-din Muhammad Qazwini (Ob 739 A.H./1338 A.D.) who had enunciated some principles about rhetorics in his book Talkhis-ul-Miftah, against the objections raised by Maulānā 'Alī Qushanjī.

5. Commentary on Mukhtāsar al-Ma'ani.² (Arabic)

This is a commentary on the Mukhtasār al-Ma'ani of Sa'd-u'd-din Taftazani.

6. Rishād being a Commentary on Irshad.³

This is a commentary on the Irshad of Qadī Shihāb-u'd-din Daulatabādi. It was the first literary attempt of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. Later Malik Ahmad bin Malik Pir Muhammad wrote marginal notes on Rishād.

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1. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.
 2. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.
 3. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.

7. Commentary on 'Addi'¹ (Arabic)

This small risalah of seven folios which concerns the art of debate and discussion, is a commentary on the work of 'Add-u'd-din Ahmad (Ob. 756 A.H./1355 A.D.)

8. Commentary on Baidawi²

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din wrote marginal notes on the famous exegesis of Baidawi.

9. Risalah-i-Maslah-i-Takfir³

This pamphlet which deals with the problem of apostacy comprises twenty pages. In the beginning he has discussed the problem of apostacy in the light of the mystic literature, then he has explained in detail the various mystic states of the sufis and has concluded that whatever they uttered in a state of spiritual intoxication did not deserve punishment. He has quoted different examples in support of his view. Finally he has replied all those

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1. (MS.), in Oriental Khuda Bak^{Sh} Public Library, Bankipur.
 2. (MS.), in the Private Collections of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad and Muhammad 'Abdullah bin Nasir-u'd-din, Madras.
 3. (MS.), in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.

objections which were raised by the critics against the Mairaj Nāmāh and Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.

10. Hashiyāh-tul-Alavi-Ali-Sharah-un-nukhbah.¹ (Arabic)

This book deals with the fundamental principles of Islamic traditions.

11. Risalath-i-Tartib-i-Arkan-u-salat.²

It deals with the various aspects of Namaz.

12. Risalath-i-Qaushanji-fil-haiyāt.³

It deals with astronomical problems and is basically a commentary on an Arabic work on astronomy.

13. Hawashi-'Ali-ul-Munhil.⁴ (Arabic)

It comprises of nine pages and deals with theological problems.

14. Commentary on Sharah Waqayeh.⁵

It is a commentary on the commentary of the famous law book Waqayeh and comprises of about six hundred pages.

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1. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad; another (MS.) in Rampur where the title of the work is given as Sharah, sharah Nukhbat al-fikr.
 2. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.
 3. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.
 4. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.
 5. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadabad.

Other less significant works found in the various libraries of India are the following:

1. Wafiyah Sharah-i-Kafiyah
2. Sharah Shwahid-ul-Munhil.¹
3. Sharah Fawaid-i-Diyayiah.²
4. Mamini in Ilm-i-Nahv.³
5. Hashiyah-i-Matul.⁴
6. Hashiyah Sharah Mukhtasir Talkhis⁵
7. Hidaya-i-Fiqh.⁶
8. Sharah-i-Toudih-i-Talvih⁷
9. Hashiyah-i-Sharah Kalamat-ul-'Aeen.⁸
10. Sharah Bakh-tul-Fikr⁹ in Usul-i-Hadith.
11. Sharah-i-Kalid-i-Makhzan.¹⁰
12. Risalah-i-Haqiqat-i-Muhammadiyah¹¹ in Tasawwuf
13. Marg-i-Changi.¹²
14. Besar Namah.¹³

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1. (MS.) The Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.
 2. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shah, Ahmadabad.
 3. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khān, Bihar Sharif.
 4. (MS.) in Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwah.
 5. (MS.) in Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwah.
 6. (MS.) in Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwah.
 7. (MS.) in the Private Collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khan, Bihar Sharif.
 8. (MS.) in Khanqāh-i-Rashidiyah Jaunpur.
 9. (MS.) in Private Collection of Shah Mustufa, Gorakhpur.
 10. (MS.) in Khanqāh, Maner
 11. (MS.) in Khanqāh-i-Rashidiyah, Jaunpur.
 12. (MS.) in the India Office Library, and in the Khānqāh, Islampur.
 13. (MS.) in Muslim University Library, Aligarh.

Viewed as a whole Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din's scholarship was confined mainly to a thorough study of classical works dealing with different subjects included in the syllabus of those days. Within those traditional limits his learning was deep and thorough but he did not contribute anything original. Once Shaikh Munawwar, a celebrated scholar, told Shaikh Uthman¹ that the commentaries of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din did not display any great scholarship. Shaikh Uthman, who was a disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, told him that his teacher had succeeded in elucidating many abstruse and involved ideas. This, however, did not satisfy Shaikh Munawwar. After a few days, while teaching Sharah-i-'Addi to his students, Shaikh Munawwar came across a difficult passage which he could not understand. He did not find any satisfactory explanation in the commentaries then current. Ultimately he consulted the commentary written by Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din and found his explanation extremely satisfactory.²

As a Poet :

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din composed verses also and used Wajih as his nom-de-plume. His following verses are quoted in the Malfuzāt:

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1. Shaikh Uthmān ibn Ladan Quraishi lived in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi. He was a disciple of Shaikh Fadl Ullah Husain Chishti. He died in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. at Mandu.

Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 287.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 263.

کے ہرگز مارید ہر صوفیہ * شاہ باز عری ہر انیم ما
سروحدت را زبان دیگر است * ہا مسیح و خضر ہمسوازم ما^۱

سود ہم در کوہ چشم اشکبار خویش را
ہر کنم از لخت دل ہر دم کنار خویش را
دل اگر بیگانہ شد از ہونا ہر ما چہ جرم
آدمی نہ ناسد از ہر در گار خویش را
نارساند ہر سو کوئے تو گود من نسیم
در رہ باد صبا رینم غبار خویش را^۲

His book Besarnamah is in verse. It gives expression to his cosmic emotion and is deeply soaked in the philosophy of wahdat-ul-Wujud.

Library :

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din had a very good library which he had built up after years of patient and persistent efforts. After his death this magnificent collection of books was damaged and destroyed due to lack of interest on the part of his descendants. But the remnants of this library were available in a corner of the dargah as late as 1921 when some of the manuscripts which had been severely^e damaged by moths and climate were either buried or dropped in the river Subermati by the

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 6.

2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 9.

servants of the dargah.¹

Death :

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din died in 998 A.H./²1589 A.D. He was buried about 150 yards north of the walls of the Bhadr and little more from the city wall in Khānpur ward of Ahmadabad.³ His grave is in the madrasah in which he used to teach.⁴

When Shaikh Farid Bukhārī⁵ established at Ahmadabad a colony, called Bukhārā, he constructed a mosque in the enclosure of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din's madrasah. The following verses are found on the wall of the tomb:

مرتضی خان فرید دریا دل	*	فیض دانی و رحمت شامل
عرش بر طریح کرد از همت	*	بر سر قبر مرشد کامل
محو دیدار حق وجیه الدین	*	آن بهوت و حیات خود واصل
در بر شاهد ازل خفته	*	از شراب وصال لایمقل
هست عین حضور آگاہی	*	غفلت اورا نی کند غافل
کہ از درون چنان روشن	*	کہ جدارش نی شود حائل

1. Ma'arif (Azamgarh) March 1933 p. 213.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II p. 373; Akhbar-ul-Asfiya, (MS.) f.110; Tabaqat-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p.317; Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, Vol.II p.337; Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, (p. 157) and Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.261 says that he died in 997 A.H./1588 A.D. which is incorrect.

3. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol.VIII p.53.

4. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, P. 157.

5. Nawab Murtuda Khān Shaikh Farid served as governor of Gujārat during the period (1014-1018/1605-1609)

عرش اسلام قبلہ مقبل

gives 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. which is not correct. It seems that " 9 " somehow dropped off or got effaced from the inscription.

قبلہ حاجت و مقام مراد	*	مداء فیہ عارف و کامل
سال تاریخ اور قیمت رسید	*	عرش اسلام قبلہ مقبل
نافذ باد باد بانی این	*	تا جہان باد باد این منزل

Shaikh 'Abdullah¹ |

Shaikh 'Abdullah was the only son of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. He had received instruction in all the ulum-i-zahir from his father. It was in the closing years of his life that Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din granted a Khilāfat Nāmāh to him and permitted him to enroll disciples in the Shattāriyāh order.² He continued the traditions of his father in all their details.³ He did not accept any gifts or grants but maintained the independent character of his madrasah. He believed in rigorous discipline and severe austerities and subjected his body to frequent fasts and subsisted mainly on a glass of lemon juice and a little sugar.⁴

1. His biographical references are found in the following works: Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, p.157; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 301,302; Akhbār-ul-Asfiya, (MS.) f.110; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) p. 967.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 301.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) 302; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.).
 4. Gulzār-i-Abfar, (RG.) f. 301.
- The author of Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (p.157) says:

"شيخ عبد الله موصوف است بعلم وحلم ورياضت وفيرت و همت و همت
وسائر اخلاق درويشان"

"Shaikh Abdullah is known for his erudition, clemency, penitence, poverty, courage, chastity and all the virtues of the saints."

Shaikh 'Abdullah did not live long after the death of his father. He died in Ahmadabad on the 6th of Rajab in 1016 A.H./¹1607 A.D. leaving behind two sons, Shaikh Asad Ullah and Shaikh Haidar.²

Shaikh Asadullah succeeded him as sajjadah Nashin but quickly followed him to the grave.³ Ultimately Shaikh Haidar succeeded to the Sajjadah.⁴ He could not continue the traditions of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and began to associate with the rulers and the bureaucracy and even expected government grants and assignments. Jahangir issued a firman to Nawab Murtuda Khān Shaikh Farid Bukhāri, Governor of Gujarat, to make some grants to Shaikh Haidar. Shaikh Haidar is reported to have written some litanies for the Emperor.⁵

When Jahangir visited Gujarat in 1618, Shaikh Haidar waited upon him.⁶ Jahangir visited the Khānqāh also and prayed at the tomb of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. The emperor gave 1,500 rupees to the Sajjadah Nāshin for the maintenance of the institution.⁷ Besides, the Emperor distributed 1,500 rupees with his own hands to the Sufis who were residing in the Khānqāh and

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- Akhbār-ul-Asfiyā, (MS.) f.110;
1. Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) 967
2. Akhbār-ul-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 110.
3. Tuzuk-i-Jāhāngiri, p. 211.
4. Tūzūk-i-Jāhangiri, p. 211.
5. Tūzūk-i-Jāhangiri, p. 211.
6. Tūzūk-i-Jāhangiri, p. 207.
7. Tūzūk-i-Jāhangiri, p. 211.

gave Rs. 500 to a brother of the late Sufi. He asked Shaikh Haidar to bring before him all the relations and dependents of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din and distributed money and land for their maintenance.¹

Among the disciples of Shaikh Haidar the name of Mulla Mohan Bihari deserves to be particularly mentioned.² He was a renowned scholar and, according to Azād Bilgrami, Shāhjahān had appointed him as ataliq (tutor) of Prince Aurangzeb. Later on he joined the circle of Shaikh Haidar's disciples and abandoned government service. He died in 1068 A.H./1657 A.D. at the age of eighty four.³

It appears from documents of endowments now in possession of the mutawallis of the Khanqāh that Jahangir had given five villages to Shaikh Haidar, Bisodra Bahar Tankah (Mangalore) Barijari, Dastral, Dantali and Hirna for the maintenance of the Khanqāh, Madrasah and the tomb of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din had more pupils than disciples. His work in the educational sphere was carried with great zeal than his work in the mystic sphere. Among his disciples and

1. Tuzūk-i-Jāhāngiri, p. 211.

2. Maathir-ul-Kirām, Vol. II p. 43.

3. Maathir-ul-Kirām, Vol. II p. 43.

pupils, the following persons are particularly noteworthy.

Sayyid Yasin.¹ |

Sayyid Yasin was initiated early in the mystic discipline of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi.² He went on pilgrimage to Hejaz and during his brief stay there he studied traditions of the Prophet³ (ahadith). When he returned to India, he settled at Sirhind and devoted his time to propagating the Shattāri mystic principles. He is reported to have attained great fame there.⁴ But he did not stay for long in Sirhind and left for Bengal. It was in Bengal that Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni met him.⁵

Shaikh Kamāl Muhammad 'Abbāsī.⁶ |

A native of Ahmadabad, Shaikh Kamāl joined the discipline of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi at an early age. He was

1. His biographical account is found in Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.120,121; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) pp.341,342.
2. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol.III p.120; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 341.
3. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol.III p.120; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 342.
4. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 121.
5. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III pp. 120-121.
6. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 297-298; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) pp. 455-456; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

known for his knowledge of the religious sciences particularly the traditions of the Prophet. He had also committed the Quran to memory.

He had studied ahadith (Traditions) with Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and Shaikh 'Abdul Mulk. In 982 A.H./1574 A.D. he migrated to Ujjain and settled there permanently. Due to his knowledge of the ahadith he was approached for fatwas. For thirty years he performed this service with great devotion and sincerity of purpose. Besides he gave lessons in ahadith to his pupils. Teaching and issuing fatwas exhausted most of his day time but he busied himself in prayers and spiritual practices in the night. He followed his daily routine meticulously. From early morning till midday he was busy in teaching his pupils with whom he also took his midday meal. From Zuhr till 'Asr prayers he spent his time in issuing fatwas. After Maghrib (sun set) prayers he attended to the spiritual problems of his disciples. He died on Sha'ban 10, 1013 A.H./1604 A.D. and was buried in the same verandah in which he used to instruct his pupils.¹

Shaikh Yusuf Bengali.² ;

Shaikh Yusuf Bengali was both a pupil and a disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. On receiving permission and spiritual

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.298; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 456.

2. His biographical account is found only in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 231, 232.

authority from his Shaikh he came to Burhānpur and settled there permanently. Like his teacher he maintained a madrasah and devoted his time mainly to teaching work.

Contrary to the traditions of his age he did not enrol disciples. If any body requested him to initiate him in his discipline, he directed him to Shaikh Tahir Yusuf Sindhi. But so far as instruction in external sciences was concerned, he taught men like — Shaikh Isa Burhanpuri and Shaikh Pir Muhammad Halim.¹ His two sons, Shaikh 'Abdullah and Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman joined the discipline of Shaikh Tāhir Yusuf.²

Shaikh Muhammad Fadlullah³;

He was born in Gujarat and was brought up at Ahmadabad and Jaunpur. In traditional learning he was a student of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi but was a disciple of Shāh Māh Berpuri.⁴ During the reign of Muhammad Shāh ibn Mubārak Shāh Farūqi (984 A.H./1576 A.D.) he came to Burhānpur and built a mosque and a

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1. He was the son of 'Abdul Halim ibn Shaikh Jālāl Muhammad Qādiri Burhānpuri. The ruler of Khāndesh offered him a job. But he was under the influence of the Chishtis and so he put down the offer. For his detailed account see: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 301.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 232.
 3. His biographical account is found in the following books: Akhbār-u'l-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 117; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 369, 370; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 437; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 369; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

khānqāh for himself. Like his teacher Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, from whom he had received mystic training also, he maintained a madrasah also and gave instructions to pupils who thronged round him. Many people learnt ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet), Tafsir (Exegesis), and other religious sciences from him.¹ He had great attachment with the Prophet and frequently went on pilgrimage to Medinah.² He was opposed to audition parties (Sama).³ During the first twelve days of Rabi-u'l-Awwal his believers used to gather in his khānqāh and recited 'Arabic and Persian poems in praise of the Prophet. He died at the age of seventy seven in 1029 A.H./⁴1619 A.D.

Hakim Uthmān⁵ :

A pupil of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, Hakim Uthmān was a profound scholar of all the religious sciences. In 983 A.H./1575 A.D. he came to Burhanpur, and was entrusted the duty of issuing fatwas. On retirement from service in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. he proceeded to a village which was assigned to him in Khandesh. He had nearly reached his destination when he came to know about the Mughāl invasion of Khandesh. He decided to stay in a nearby forest where a band of dacoits surrounded him and killed him

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 369; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 437; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 370; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 370; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani (MS.) p. 437; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, (MS.) p. 437; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 5. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 285, 286; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) pp. 343, 344; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

along with his seventeen companions. Shaikh Tahir Yusuf used to say about him: "I have not seen a more cultured man in my life than Hakim Uthmān". He is reported to have written a commentary on Baidawī and explanatory notes on Sahih-Bukhārī. Among his pupils, Muhammad Ghauthi, Qadī Nasir-u'd-din, Shaikh Siraj Muhammad, Shaikh Saleh Sindhi, Qadī 'Abdus Salam Sindhi, and Miyan Sikkahji attained considerable fame.¹

Shāh Ridā Qādri Shattāri² :

He was one of the prominent Shattāri saint of the Punjab. His spiritual genealogy reached Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in the following ways: Shāh Muhammad Ridā, Shaikh Muhammad Fādīl, Shaikh Allahdad, Muhammad Jalal, Sayyid Nur, Sayyid Zain-u'l-Abidin Chishti, Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafoor, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. He died on 12th of Jamadi-u'l-Awwal in 1118 A.H./1706 A.D. at Lahore. He left behind a very large number of disciples, of whom Shāh Inayāt Qadri Shattāri was notable.

Shāh Ināyāt³ :

Shāh Ināyāt was born in a family of Zamindars. But very early he became interested in mysticism and joined the discipline of Shāh Ridā and began to live with him.

1. They are referred in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.)f.285; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
2. Vide Khazinat-u'l-Asfiyā, Vol.I pp. 188,189.
3. His biographical account is found in Khāzināt-u'l-Asfiyā, Vol. I p.198.

Later he migrated to Qasur where he achieved great popularity. But in the closing years of his life, his relations became strained with the officials of Qasur and he decided to return to Lahore where he died in 1041 A.H./1631 A.D.

Qāḍī Jalāl-u'd-din Multanī¹

A pupil of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi, he studied from his master all the esoteric and exoteric sciences.² Later on he came to Agra and settled there.

In the beginning he lived in seclusion and led a life of contentment and tawakkul. But later he started business on small scale. This also did not suit his temperament and he started a madrasah in pursuance of the traditions of his spiritual master. His learning brought great popularity to him and people from distant parts began to throng his seminary.³ In 983 A.H./1575 A.D. Akbar appointed him as Qāḍī-u'l-Qūddāt in place of Qāḍī Yaqūb. His career then entered a new phase. He became a government servant and lost touch with the people. His performance as government servant has been discussed in a subsequent chapter.

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Akbār Nāmah, Vol.III p.228; Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II pp.211,271,272,313,314; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.264; Tabqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p.334.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 264.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 264.

Amir Sayyid Sābghat Ullah¹ |

He was a notable disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and was endowed with many qualities of head and heart. After the death of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi in 999 A.H./1590 A.D., he settled at Malwah.² But soon afterwards he left for the Deccan. When he reached Ahmadnagar, Burhan Shāh (1003 A.H./1594 A.D.) received him warmly. He stayed there for about a year. Then he proceeded on pilgrimage to Meccah. He felt such strong fascination in Medinah that he built there a Khānqah for himself and settled there permanently.³ Here he attained great fame and, according to Muhammad Ghauthi, the Sultan of Rum requested him to visit his country but he declined to accept his offer.⁴

It was through him that the Shattāri silsilah spread in Muslim lands. He died at Medinah in 1015 A.H./⁵1606 A.D. Among his disciples Shaikh Ahmad Sanavi, Shaikh Ahmad Qashashi and Sayyid Muhammad Bukhāri are particularly mentioned in tazkirahs.⁶

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1. Biographical references are found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 364, 365; Ma'arij-ul-Walāyāt, (MS.) Vol. II p. 612; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni (MS.) pp. 434, 435; Ma'athir-ul-Kirām, pp. 40-42.
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 364.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 365.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 365.
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 365; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 435.
 6. Ma'arij-ul-Walāyāt, (MS.) Vol. II p. 612.

CHAPTER VII

SHAIKH ARIF AND HIS DISCIPLES

Shaikh Muhammad Arif¹

The Shattāri mystic tradition assigns the highest place to two disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth - Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif. Both of them established the prestige of the silsilah in the academic and intellectual circles of the country. Sadiq Khān, the author of Tabaqat-i-Shahjahāni, remarks about Shaikh 'Arif:

در سلسله ایشان (شیخ محمد غوث) بزرگوار و بی نظیر نمایان

(No one more respected than him appeared in the silsilah of Shaikh Mohammad Ghauth)

Shaikh 'Arif was born in a small qasbah of Gujarat, known as Mehlasah. His mother died when he was only thirteen days old. His father breathed his last when he was only six years of age.³ Thus his early life was spent in extremely trying circumstances. There was no one to give him the guidance and affection which he needed at that tender age. Since many of his relatives were

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 233, 234, 235, 236, 237; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p. 297; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p. 297.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 234; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

employed in the army, he decided to take up service in the army. But he did not find the atmosphere of the camp congenial to his temperament which longed for a life of religious prayers and penitences. He gave up his service in the army and turned to the culture of his soul. The author of Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni tells us that he was only sixteen years of age when he left the army.¹ It is surprising that at this young age he had won the golden opinion of his colleagues in the army who used to call him Shaikh-i-Lāshkār. This title became such a part of his name that the Shāṭṭārī hagiologists refer to him more as Shaikh-i-Lashkār than as Shaikh Arif.²

After giving up his service in the army Shaikh 'Arif turned to madrasahs in order to acquire instruction in external sciences 'Ulum-i-Zāhiri'. Among his teachers the name of Qadi Mahmud of Berpur only has been mentioned by the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār.³ Having completed his study of traditional sciences he turned to the discipline of his soul which had forced him to abandon government service. He first came in contact with Qūtb-i-Jāhān Dhākīr of Nahrwalah who was known for his piety and resignation. He was an erudite scholar also and Ghauthi informs us that his collection of letters which he wrote in order to elucidate and explain the thought of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din Yahya

1. Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni, (MS.) p. 297.

2. Vide Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff.233,234,235,236,237.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Maneri was characterised by deep and acute understanding of the high mystic thought. Shaikh Dhākir taught to Shaikh 'Arif the famous work of Imām Ghāzālī, Minhāj-ul-'Abidīn.¹

In 951 A.H./²1544 A.D. Shaikh 'Arif visited Ahmadabad. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was at that time the most outstanding religious figure of Gujarat. Shaikh 'Arif joined his order. When Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth decided to leave for Gwalior Shaikh 'Arif expressed his desire to accompany him. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth granted a khilafat namah to him and asked him to stay in Ahmadabad and work for the popularisation of the silsilah in Gujarat.³ For thirty years he lived and worked in Ahmadabad with single minded devotion and admitted large number of disciples to the Shattāri fold. In 982 A.H./⁴1574 A.D. one of his disciples, Shaikh 'Isa, persuaded him to migrate to Burhanpur. He lived there till his death in 993 A.H./⁵1585 A.D. The people of Burhānpur had so great love and respect for him that they named a colony — Rasipurah — after the name of his daughter Bibi Rāsti.⁶

Shaikh 'Arif was a staunch believer in Wahdat-u'l-wujud (unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world). The Fusus-ul-

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.), p. 297; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.234; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.), p.297; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 6. Ma'arij-ul-Walāyāt, (MS.) Vol.II p.584; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.)

Hikam of Ibn-i-'Arabi was his constant companion and he used to explain its ideas to his disciples and visitors.¹ His fondness for Ibn-i-'Arabi and his pantheistic philosophy brought him into conflict with one of the leading theologians of Ahmadabad, Shaikh 'Ali Muttāqi² who was critical of every idea and every movement which did not conform to his own views. He had trenchantly criticised the Mehdavis and had taken up cudgels against Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth also. Shaikh 'Arif did not like entering into theological controversies and hairsplitting discussions. His restraint and silence in the face of Shaikh 'Ali Muttāqi's vehement opposition ultimately silenced the critics also. One redeeming feature of Shaikh 'Arif's spiritual life and thought which appealed to his critics also was his disapproval of a life of sukr (intoxication). He disapproved the ecstatic utterances of Shaikh Bayazid Bustāmi and Mansur Hallaj. Despite his faith in Wahdat-ul-Wujud as the only correct theory of Reality he positively discouraged any public utterances which created misunderstanding in public mind.³

Shaikh 'Arif's work at Burhanpur during the last decade of his life yielded better and more lasting results than his work at Ahmadabad. He planted the Shattāri silsilah firmly at Burhanpur. Burhanpur being a centre of the Chishti saints —

1. Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 36.

2. Thamrat-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 36.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 235, 236.

particularly those connected with Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Gharib, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya, whom the city was named as Burhānpur — Shaikh 'Arif found the atmosphere congenial for the elaboration of his pantheistic ideas.

Among the successors of Shaikh 'Arif the names of the following saints have reached us:

1. Shaikh Muhammad known as Taj-ul-Ashiqīn
2. Shaikh Ibrāhim Qāri Shattāri
3. Shaikh Mahmud bin 'Abdullah of Gujarat
4. Shaikh Murtūdā
5. Shaikh Bābu of Sind and
6. Shaikh 'Isā.

Shaikh Muhammad known as Taj-ul-'Ashiqīn.¹ !

Shaikh Muhammad, popularly known as Taj-ul-'Ashiqīn, was a scholar of some repute and had complete command over ma'qulat and munqulat (the traditional and the rational sciences). It is not known where he first came into contact with 'Arif but his name is mentioned among the khalifas of Shaikh 'Arif. He lived

1. References to him are found in Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 298 • and Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 456.

at Akbarabad and Lahore. He had established some contact with the Mughal noble Qālīj Khān¹ with whom he moved sometimes. He died at Lahore in 1014 A.H./²1605 A.D.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm Qārī Shattāri.³ !

A native of Sindh, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Qārī was a highly cherished pupil of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif. He was well versed in Ulum-i-Zāhir (external sciences) and could recite the Quran in extremely sonorous and captivating voice. Even his teacher and Shaikh 'Isa had learnt this art of reciting the Qurān from him.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm led a life of penitence and poverty. He did not accept gifts or grants from anybody. He believed in earning his bread by his own effort. He fetched firewood from the forest and disposed it off in the market. With this petty income he maintained his family and spared something for his

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1. Qālīj Khān was one of the distinguished nobles of Akbar's court. He was associated with the Shattāri silsilah also, being a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghāūth. He came into prominence from the time of the siege of Ruhtas in 1565 A.D. In 1573 A.D. he was appointed commandant of Surat; in 1576-77 he negotiated with the Portuguese; in 1588 A.D. he received Sambhal as Jagir; in 1593-94 he was made Governor of Kabul, in 1596-97 he accompanied Daniyal as his tutor ataliq to the Deccan; in 1598-99 acted as Governor of Agra, and of the Punjab and Kabul in 1600-1601 A.D. He was promoted to the mansab of 4500 sawars. He was a poet too and his nom-de-plume was ulfatī. He died in 1613 A.D.

For his biographical account see: A'in-i-Akbari, Vol.I p.280; Muntakhāb-ūt-Tawārikh, Vol.III pp.122,188; Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol.II p.435; M'aathir-ul-Umārā, Vol.III pp.69-74.

2. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 456.
3. His account is found in the following books. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff.232,233; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

spiritual teacher also. For twenty five years he earned his livelihood in this way.

Once he happened to visit Ahmadabad where he met Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. The saint received him cordially and appointed him leader of his congregational prayers. He served him in that capacity for eleven years. Impressed by his spiritual capabilities Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth conferred upon him the title of Murgh-i-Lahuti¹ (the bird of the realm of Lahut). Shaikh Ibrahim later on migrated to Burhanpur and joined the circle of Shaikh 'Arif's disciples. Here also he had to pass his days in poverty but he did not give up his principles. One day Maulana Hafiz Sadr Sindhi² came to him and said: "My ruler (Muhammad Shāh Faruqi³) has ordered me to bring some old and gifted hafiz as he wants the ladies of the harem to learn the Quran. After prolonged search I have been able to find in you a person of the required stature and talent"⁴. As the Shaikh was under extremely straitened circumstances it was expected that he would readily accept the offer, but he politely refused on account of old age and infirmity.⁵ In 991 A.H./1583 A.D. he breathed his last at Burhānpur.

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1. Lahut is one of the stages in the spiritual ascension of man. The other two important stages being nasut and jabrut.
 2. His detailed biographical account is not found vide Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 232; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. He was the ruler of Khāndesh (974-984 A.H./1566-1576 A.D.). For an account see Tārīkh-i-Ferīshṭah Vol. II pp.287-288.
 4. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.232; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 5. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 232.

Shaikh Mahmud bin 'Abdullah of Gujarāt¹ :

Shaikh Mahmud bin Abdullah was a native of Gujarāt. He had memorized the Quran and had performed the Hajj pilgrim age also. He joined the discipline of Shaikh 'Arif and probably received the Khilāfat also from him but he did not stick to the mystic path. He developed great interest in music and musicians and wasted his time in frivolous matters. He even fell in love with Satra Sen, a singer/^{boy.} Such wayward actions lowered the prestige of the Silsilah in the public eye.

Shaikh Murtūdā² :

A native of Gujarāt Shaikh Murtūdā first enrolled himself as the disciple of a less-known Shāṭṭārī saint, Shaikh Kālā. Later on he joined the circle of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif and began to live with him. When Shaikh 'Arif died he went to Shaikh 'Isa and began to live with him. He died in 1002 A.H./1593 A.D. and was buried in the graveyard of Shaikh Bhikari at Burhānpur.

Shaikh Babū Sindhi.³ :

Shaikh Babū, a disciple and pupil of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Arif,

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1. His brief account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 277, 278.
 2. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 299; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 367.

lived at Burhanpur in the colony of Sindhis. He believed in living a life of complete resignation to the will of God. Neither he himself built a house nor did he allow any of his disciple to build a house for him. He passed his time in a secluded corner and explained the Shattāri mystic principles to those who visited his unostentatious dwellings.

Shaikh 'Isa¹ :

Shaikh 'Isa's family originally belonged to Pat, a town in Sindh. Later on it migrated to Ahmadabad² where Shaikh 'Isa was born on the 5th of Zilhijjah in 962 A.H./³October 10, 1554 A.D. He completed his early education under the guidance of his father and committed the Quran to memory at the age of nine. Later he studied tafsir (exegesis) and ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet). Having completed his instruction in these subjects he turned to mysticism and began his search for a spiritual teacher. He started on itineracy in 985 A.H./1577 A.D. and visited many important mystic centres of Malwah and Gujarat. Ultimately he reached Gwalior and it was there that he felt

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1. Biographical notices are found in the following books: Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.); Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff.324 to 336; Akhbar-ul-Asfiya, (MS.) f.117; Zubdat-ul-Maqāmāt, (MS.) f. 84; Fatwat of Shaikh 'Isa, (MS.); Ma'arij-ul-Wilayāt, (MS.) Vol. II pp.584, 585; Gulzār-i-Shaikh 'Isa (MS.); Tabaqat-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p.437; Thamrat-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) ff.29,30; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.); Mahfil-i-Asfiya Majma-ul-Auliya, p. 494.
 2. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 7.
 3. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 8.

attracted towards the Shattāri order. He prayed for sometime at the grave of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and then went to Agra.¹ During his stay at Agra he received a message from his uncle, Shaikh Tāhir, that Mulla Hakim Sindhi, a scholar of qir'at (method of reciting the Qur'an), was staying with him and that he could return in order to learn that art from him.² But on his return to Burhānpur he got involved in a love affair which distracted his mind completely. His uncle made all possible efforts to save him from the morass but to no avail. Frustrations of love brought him to Shaikh 'Arif. He sought his spiritual help in his emotional involvement. Shaikh 'Arif initiated him into his spiritual discipline and began to mend his spiritually tattered and broken personality.³ To wean him away from his obsession, he advised him to fast for three days. On the third day he taught some practices to him. It was under the guidance of Shaikh 'Arif that his personality was cast in a new mould. Sexual urges and material desires were so tutored and sublimated that he turned to the culture of his soul with remarkable devotion and unity of purpose. So long as Shaikh 'Arif was alive he lived with him. On his death he went to Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and completed his study of 'ulūm-i-zāhir (external sciences).

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 326.

2. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) ff.10, 11.

3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 327; Akhbār-ul-Asfiyā, (MS.) f. 117; Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) Vol.II p.437; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Having completed his study of all the sciences of the day, Shaikh 'Isa established a madrasah and started coaching students who came to him in large numbers. Side by side with this teaching work he attended to spiritual work also and instructed disciples in mystic practices. In fact, after Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi it had become a tradition with the Shattāri saints to look after both the spiritual and the intellectual needs of the people. The Shattāri Khānqāhs were consequently both hospices and seminaries. He took keen interest in his students. Every day after offering his morning prayers he came to his khānqāh and busied himself in teaching tafsir (Quranic exegesis) ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet), and other religious subjects to his pupils. His fame as a teacher reached far and wide and students came to his madrasah from such distant places as Kabul and Ceylon.¹

He treated all visitors alike and did not show any special consideration for the rich or the government officers. When 'Abdur Rāhim Khan-i-Khanān visited his madrasah he was received in the same way in which other visitors were treated.²

Shaikh 'Isa had a reputation for his scholarship. Sādiq Khān, the author of Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, says that his scholarship infused new life in the sciences he taught to his pupils.³

1. Kashf-ūl-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 105.

2. Kashf-ūl-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 110.

3. Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) Vol.II p.438; see also Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.328; Akhhār-ul-Asfiyā, (MS.) f.117; Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat, (MS.) Vol.II p.585; Bahr-i-Zakikhār, (MS.).

Of his works, the following books are particularly noteworthy:¹

Tatmin-i-Sharah-i-Mayeth-i-'Awamil²(Arabic):- Mir Fateh Ullah Shirāzi³ had started compiling this work on philosophy but due to his untimely death it remained incomplete. Shaikh 'Isa completed it at the request of his cousin, Mir Sayyid 'Ali.

Risalah-i-'Aqud⁴:- A small brochure dealing with some problems of ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet).

Sharah-Rubayiat-i-Israr-ul-Wahi.⁵:- This is a commentary on some quatrains dealing with the "secrets of prophetic revelations."

Majma'a-ul-Bahrain⁶:- A general work on religious devotions.

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 328; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) Vol.II p. 438; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

2. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpur.

3. Mir Fateh Ullah Shirazi, belonged to a Sayyid family of Shiraz and was a distinguished scholar of his time. Besides his knowledge of the traditional science, he was well versed in philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic and mechanics. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1557-1580) of Bijapur had great regard for him. He stayed in his Kingdom for some years. Later on he came to Agra and entered the service of Akbar who gave him the title of 'Add-ul-Mulk. He served as Sadr-i-Jahan, Sadr-us-Sudur for four years, from 993 A.H./1585 A.D. — 997 A.H./1589 A.D. He died in Kashmir in 997 A.H./1589 A.D. and was buried on a hill near Srinagar which was known as Takht-i-Sulaiman.

For his biographical account see, Akbar Namah, Vol.III p. 401,457; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III pp.154-155.

4. MS.in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpur.

5. MS.in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpur.

6. MS.in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpur.

Hashiyah-bar-Isharat-i-Gharibiyah¹:- Isharat-i-Gharibiyah
was compiled by 'Abdul Karim Hanbali on general problems of
religion and ethics. Shaikh 'Isa wrote marginal notes on it.

Tafsir-i-Muhammadi²:- A sketchy exegesis of the Qurān in
Persian.

Risalah-i-Daqqah³:- A small treatise dealing with the att-
ributes and qualities of the Prophet.

Tafsir-ul-Anwar-ul-Israr⁴ (Arabic):- A commentary on the
Qurān in the 'Arabic language.

Sharah-i-Qasidah-i-Burdah⁵:- This is a commentary on the
Qasidah-i-Burdah. The qasidah was compiled by the poet, Sharāf
u'd-din (Ob. 695 A.H./1295 A.D.) Abi 'Abdullah, who was popular
among the masses by his surname Busaree. This work is considered
one of the noblest poetical productions of the seventh century
after Islam. Shaikh 'Isa wrote a commentary on this poem.

'Ain-ul-Ma'ani⁶:- Shaikh 'Isa compiled a commentary on the
Navadh-wa-Nuh Nam (Ninety nine names of Allah under the title,

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1. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpūr.
 2. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpūr.
 3. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Arzān, Patna.
 4. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpūr.
 5. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Rashidiyah, Jaunpur.
 6. MSS. in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library Bankipur
(N. 1386) Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 1259).

Raudat-ul-Husna fi Sharh-i-Asma ullah ul-Husna روضة الحسنی
فی شرح اسماء اللہ الحسنی in the year Hafiz (989 A.H./
1581 A.D.). Later the author revised it and entitled it as

عن الحانی فی شرح الاسماء الربانی

Risalah-i-Hawas-i-Panjganah¹:- This is a literary composition in Persian on the five senses. It was compiled at the request of Shaikh Sadrjahan Dharwal, a disciple of the Shaikh.

Risalah-i-Qiblat-ul-Mazahib²:- A small brochure dealing with the problem of direction in prayers.

Hashiyah-bar-Sharah-i-Diyayiah³:- These are marginal notes on Sharah-i-Kafiyah of Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami the famous mystic poet of Persia. Shaikh 'Isa compiled this book for his eldest son Shaikh Abdus Sattar. This is considered to be one of the finest commentaries on Kafiyah. According to Muhammad Ghauthi, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar it is superior to other contemporary commentaries compiled by Maulana Abdul Ghāfur of Burhanpur and Maulana Ism Uddin.

Fateh Muhammadi: Shaikh 'Isa wrote this book for his second son, Shaikh Fateh Muhammad Muhaddith.

Shaikh 'Isa was well-versed in prosody and syntax. He was a poet also. His nom-de plume was Jundi - i.e. one belonging

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1. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Arzan, Patna.
 2. MS. in the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpūr.
 3. MS. in the Library of Maulvi Fasih-u'd-din, Jaunpūr.

to the army. His diwān (collection) of verses does not exist, but a ghazal quoted by 'Aqil Khān Rāzi in Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt gives some idea of his poetic talent.¹

Shaikh 'Isa maintained good relations with Sultan Bahadur Shāh Faruqi of Khandesh (1005-1008 A.H./1596-1599 A.D.). When Akbar invaded Asirgarh in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. the Sultan shut himself up in the fort and sent for Shaikh 'Isa and requested him to pray to God for help in that crisis. It took Akbar 11 months to conquer the fort. When he came to know about the moral support given to the Sultan by Shaikh 'Isa he got annoyed with him. When the fort was occupied, Shaikh 'Isa too was imprisoned and was kept under the supervision of a noble who put him in a stable. But when the noble discerned in the Shaikh a pious and devoted saint, he developed faith in him. While returning to Agra, Akbar placed Shaikh 'Isa in the custody of Shaikh Abdullah the eldest son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Later on, at the intercession of Shaikh Abdullah, Akbar pardoned him.²

Shaikh 'Isa died, at the age of seventy, on 15th Shawwal in 1031 A.H./³31 August 1622 A.D., and was buried at Sindhipura in Burhanpur. One of his disciples wrote an elegy⁴ in Hindvi which contains forty four stanzas. Each stanza comprises five verses and at the end of each there is a دوہرہ. The opening verses are:

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1. Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) ff. 29, 30.
 2. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 55.
 3. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 438; Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 120.
 4. (MS.) in the Library of the Khānqāh-i-Shaikh Būrhān, Būrhānpur.

عسین شاہ مہا گر گمانے * جا کے کت کنون نہیں جانے
نہیں مین جون نہیں ہمارے * ہو ولین مین عسین پیارے ۱

The closing verses are:

کہا کوئی جانے گو کہے بانا * بے دو بک پیہ کے رنگ رانا
واکے کت واہی نہیں جانے * اور کوئی کہا واہ پہچانے ۲

Shaikh 'Isa left two sons, 'Abdus Sattar and Shaikh Fateh Muhammad and a daughter, Bibi Rasti.³ Shaikh 'Abdus Sattar succeeded to the Sajjadah of his father. But he did not stick to the Shattāri silsilah and its discipline.⁴ The author of Zubdat-ūl-Maqāmāt tells us that he had come under the influence of the Naqshbandi saints.⁵ Shaikh Fateh Muhammad distinguished himself as a great traditionist and scholar. He wrote three books Miftāh-ūs-Slāt, Futūh-ūl-Awrād and Fateh-ul-Mazahib.⁶ He accepted a village Kolikhera in jagir from Shāhjahān.⁷

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1. Shaikh 'Isa is a great spiritual teacher and a great scholar. Whose attributes nobody can comprehend. As our Prophet is among the Prophets. So is Shaikh 'Isa among the saints.
 2. No one can comprehend the talks of the spiritual teacher, Unless he has a beloved one he cannot understand anything. He is not aware of his own condition. How can anybody else understand him.
 3. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 328; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).
 4. The descendents of Shaikh 'Isa abandoned Shattāri silsilah. Futūh-ūl-Awrād, (MS.); Miftāh-us-Slāt, (MS.); Risālah-i-Marātib, (MS.); Khulāsāt-ul-Awrād, (MS.).
 5. Zubdat-ūl-Maqāmāt, (MS.) ff. 84-85.
 6. Zubdat-ul-Maqāmāt, (MS.) ff. 84-85.
 7. The Firman is preserved in the library of the Khānqāh of Shaikh Burhān.

Sayyid Pir Sayyidi¹ |

He was a descendant of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga. Very early in life he became a disciple of Shaikh 'Isa. His interests were, however, more literary than mystical. He used to compose Persian verses under the nom de plume of Sayyidi. He had composed an account of the Shattāri saints in verse. He died at Asirgarh in 1001 A.H./1592 A.D.

Shaikh Niamat Ullah Shehnori² |

He claimed his descent from the famous Chishti saint, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar. In his childhood he learnt the Qurān by heart. When he grew up he went on pilgrimage to Meccah. On his return he met Shaikh Muhammad, a Khālifah of Shaikh 'Isa, who advised him to see his Shaikh at Burhanpur. Impressed by Shaikh 'Isa and his devotion to the mystic way of life, Shaikh Niamat Ullah became his disciple and began to live with him. After some years Shaikh 'Isa conferred his Khilāfat upon him and asked him to return to his native place and set up a Shattāri centre there. His piety and penitences earned for him the title of Farid-i-Thani.³

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1. His biographical account is found in Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) on ff. 281, 282.
 2. His biographical account is found in Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) on pp. 442, 443.
 3. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 442.

Shaikh Ismail :

Shaikh Ismail was a native of Ashtah but he lived with Shaikh 'Isa for twenty years and served him with great devotion. In 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. he returned to Ashtah and set up a Shattāri Khānqāh there.¹

Shaikh Masih :

Khawājah 'Ali, popularly known as Shaikh Masih, was the son of a rich merchant of Gujārāt, Husain Rumi, who belonged to the Qādiri order. He became a disciple of Shaikh 'Isa and learnt Shattāri practices from him. He was also interested in poetry and used to compose verses in Persian.²

Shaikh Burhān³ :

Shaikh Burhān Muhammad, popularly known as Burhan-u'd-din Auliya, was by far the most distinguished disciple and khālifah of Shaikh 'Isa. He claimed his descent from the first Caliph, Abu Bakr. His mother, Fatimah was a Sayyid and claimed

1. Qūlsār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 249.

2. Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 488.

3. His biographical account is found in the following books: Lubb-u'd-Daqa'iq, (MS.); Wasiyat Nāmāh, (MS.) f. 1; Ma'arīj-ul-Wilāyat, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 612, 613; Thāmrāt-ul-Hayat, (MS.); Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhan, (MS.); Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. II pp. 553, 554, 555; Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Alamgiri, (RG.) f. 97; Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 86.

her descent from Imam Husain,¹ the grandson of the Prophet.

Shaikh Burhan's ancestors lived at Baroch, but his father, Miyan Shaikh Kabir Muhammad, migrated to Parganah Bodood in Khandesh. It was in a village, Rajhi, that he saw the light of the day in 998 A.H./²1589 A.D. Deprived very early of his parents, he was brought up under the care of his uncle who took him to Burhanpur so that he might receive good education.³ Here he received instructions from Shaikh Ilmullah, a muhaddith of Burhānpur.⁴

After completing his study of external sciences ('ulūm-i-zāhir), Shaikh Burhān developed a desire to become murid of some saint. Shaikh Malik Husain Banbāni was at that time the most outstanding sufi of Burhānpur.⁵ Shaikh Burhān visited his Khānqāh and requested him to guide him on the mystic path. Shaikh Banbāni initiated him into his discipline and advised him to observe fast on Thursdays and bathe in river.⁶ Besides he taught some mystic practices to him and asked him to devote his time to Dhikr⁷ (reciting the names of Allah, either loudly or silently).

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1. Lubb-ud-Daqaig, (MS.).
 2. Lubb-ud-Daqaig, (MS.).
 3. Lubb-ud-Daqaig, (MS.).
 4. Thamrāt-u'l-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 27.
 5. Lubb-ud-Daqaig, (MS.).
 6. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).
 7. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).

In pursuance of the orders of his spiritual teacher, Shaikh Būrhān started the practice of Dhikr i-Jalli (loud recitation of the names of Allah) in the madrasah at night.¹ But this disturbed the other students of the madrasah and, at the request of a senior scholar, he decided to shift to a lonely corner where he engaged himself in all sorts of mystic practices and penances.² But soon afterwards his spiritual teacher left on tour to distant places and Shaikh Būrhān was obliged to find out another mystic master in order to complete his spiritual training. He passed sometime with Shaikh 'Abdul Qūddus.³ Then, along with Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus he visited Shaikh 'Isa and joined the circle of his disciples. Shaikh 'Isa permitted him to retire to seclusion and engage himself in religious practices and meditation.⁴ When the period of his spiritual self-discipline was over, Shaikh 'Isa assigned to him the duty of supplying fodder to animals kept by him in his Khānqāh. One day, while performing Dhikr, he was so overpowered by ecstasy that he ran towards the jungle. When Shaikh 'Isa heard about this, he sent some of his disciples to trace him. Khwājah Muhammad Afdal, a khālifāh of

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1. The practice of Dhikr was current in some madrasahs during the medieval period of Indian history. Barani informs us about the Firuzi Madrasah at Delhi:

لَا وَ نَهَاراً ذَكَرَ مِى كَوْنِهِ

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi p. 564.

2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
3. See Chapter VIII
4. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.); Lubb-ud-Daqa'iq, (MS.).

Shaikh 'Isa, found him loitering on the road and brought him back to the khānqāh.¹ After careful training for sometime Shaikh 'Isa bestowed upon him the Khilāfat of the Shattāriyah silsilah.² But he did not enrol disciples until Shaikh 'Isa explicitly ordered him to do so.³ When Shaikh 'Isa died, his disciples turned to Shaikh Būrhān for guidance. Due to his adherence to the highest mystic traditions of contentment and trust in God, Shaikh Būrhān attained great popularity. He was very critical of the ways of his contemporary saints who dabbled in politics and accumulated money. Once he remarked: "Had I not seen the two pious saints (Shaikh Tahir and Shaikh 'Isa), I might have lived under the impression that the Sufis of my age are materialistic in their attitude and are devoid of any courage (to live a life of resignation and contentment). But when I saw them, I came to know that the world is not devoid of genuine saints."⁴

As the popularity of Shaikh Būrhān increased, Amir Beg, the governor of Būrhānpūr offered to build a khānqāh for him. The Shaikh did not agree. He told the governor that if he constructed a khānqāh for him, he would immediately migrate to Surat.⁵ The Shaikh's reputation as a mystic teacher reached the ears of Aurangzeb also. It is said that he visited his jama'at khanjah in cognito.⁶ As there was no mosque attached with the jama'at

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1. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.); Lubb-ud-Daqa'iq, (MS.).
 2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 4. Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 17.
 5. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 6. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

khānah, Aurangzeb granted a piece of land for constructing a mosque.¹ It is said that while proceeding to give battle to Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb visited the Shaikh in order to receive his blessings.² As he knew that the Shaikh did not like the company of rulers and princes, he changed his dress and seated himself among the ordinary people in the midst of the audience. When Shaikh Būrhān saw a stranger sitting in his assembly, he enquired about his name. The Shaikh remained silent and did not utter even a word of blessing. Aurangzeb again visited him on the following day. This time Shaikh Būrhān was a bit irritated. "If you like this house", he told Aurangzeb, "you tell me. I shall leave this house and shall select another abode for the Sufis."³ When Aurangzeb failed to receive the Shaikh's blessings in this way, he sought the intercession of Mama Lalu who lived day and night in the attendance of the Shaikh and was very much liked by him. Shaikh Nizām⁴ suggested that the best way to meet the Shaikh was that when he went out of his jama'at khānah to offer his prayers, Aurangzeb should stand at the door

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1. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 2. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 553; Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni-wa-Alamgiri, (RG.) f. 97.
 3. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 554.
 4. Shaikh Nizām was one of the most trusted 'ulāmā of Aurangzeb. He lived with him during his viceroyalty of the Deccan. When Aurangzeb issued orders for the compilation of Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, he assigned the duty of supervising this work to Shaikh Nizām. For brief accounts of Shaikh Nizām see, Ma'athir-i-Alām-giri, pp. 80-83; Tadhkirah ulana-i-Hind p. 242; Tarikh-i-Burhanpur, Khālil-ur-Rahman (Delhi, 1317 A.H.) p. 154.

and seek his permission to depart. Aurangzeb took Shaikh Nizām, Shaikh Mir and Mir Miran with him, and went to the door of Shaikh Būrhān's jamā'at khānah.¹ When the Shaikh came out and found Aurangzeb standing at the door, he asked him: "How are you?" This provided Aurangzeb with the long-awaited opportunity. He submitted:

دارا شکوه از دین اسلام برگشته قوم در بهادیه ضلالت گذاشته است تقلید
ملحدان که تارک فروع الهی اند تصوف را بدنام نموده کفر و اسلام را
برادر توأم خوانده درین ماده رساله مجمع البحرین تالیف نموده پدر
بزرگوار را از سلطنت بی اختیار نموده کمر بر اراده باطل و قتل مسلمانان بسته
امید دارم که برای دفع شر او فاتحه بخوانند^۲

"Dārā Shikoh has turned away from the Islamic faith and has stepped in the forest of heresy. He is following the heretics who have given up the obligations assigned to them by God, and have defamed Tasawwuf. He considers Kufr and Islām as twins and has brought out the essence of this thesis in a Risālah named Majm'a-al-Bahrain. He has deposed our revered father and is bent upon his wicked idea to support wrong and slaughter the Musālmāns. I hope you will bless me so that I may eradicate the evil."

To this Shaikh Būrhān replied:

"از فاتحه ما فقیران کم اعتبار چه میشود شما که پادشاهید به نیت خیر و
عدالت و رحمت پروری فاتحه بخوانید ما هم دست بفاتحه بر میداریم^۳

1. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 554.

2. Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni-wa-Alangiri, (RG.) f. 97.

3. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 554.

"What significance or value has the fatihah of we, the poor people. You who are king read fatihah with the good intention of doing justice and patronising the people we too shall raise hands to read Fatihah."

Shaikh Nizām, who was with Aurangzeb, took it as a happy omen and congratulated Aurangzeb.¹

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Many nobles also visited the Jāma'at Khānah Shaikh Būrhān. Nāsir Khān Faruqi, a noble of Aurangzeb, is reported to have visited him for thirty years. Khān Rondulah,² an important noble of the Deccan, had great faith in him and frequently visited him.³ Amir-ūl-Umārā Shayistāh Khān⁴ was also devoted to him. He visited the Shaikh several times and requested him to admit him to the circle of his disciples but the Shaikh always refused. In 1074 A.H./1663 A.D. when Shayistāh Khān was appointed governor of the Deccan, he again visited him and expressed his

1. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol.II p. 554.

2. Randaulah Khān Ghāzi was a Mughāl mansabdar. He belonged to Bijapur. Aurangzeb held a very high opinion of his loyalty and devotion. After the battle with Maharajah Jaswant Singh he received the title of Randaulah Khān and a mansab of four thousand sawar. After the battle with Dara Shikoh, he received a reward of Rs.10,000. For his biographical account see Ma'athir-ul-Umārā Vol.II pp.400-402, 419-420, 961-965.

3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

4. Mirza Abu Talib better known by his title Shayistāh Khān was a famous Mughal noble of the 17th century. He served as governor of many Mughal provinces — Bihar, Malwah, Gujarat and the Deccan. For his biographical account, see Ma'athir-ul-Umārā, Vol.II pp. 34-35, 135, 453, 501, 568, 569, 602, 622, 634, 938.

earnest desire to become his murid. The Shaikh again refused and he left the Khānqāh disappointed.¹ Subsequently, when, in a conflict with the Marathas, Shayistāh Khān lost his two fingers, he visited the Shaikh at Būrhanpūr and very pathetically submitted: "Had you taken my hand in your hand (i.e. had you initiated me in your discipline) my hand would not have been deformed like this." The Shaikh was deeply touched by these words and initiated him into his discipline.

Once Shāh Alam recommended the name of Khawāfi Khān's father for a mansab but it was not considered. He recommended it a second time and himself proceeded to see Aurangzeb. On his way he visited Būrhanpūr and humbly requested Shaikh Būrhan to give his blessings.²

Khānqāh of Shaikh Būrhan :

Shaikh Būrhan had a Khānqāh, or more strictly a jama'at Khānah, which was run by his disciples under his supervision. The Shaikh enforced with great severity the rules which he had laid down for the inmates. Except a few who were physically incapable to do any hard work or manual labour, all other residents had to work for earning their livelihood. Some

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhan, (MS.).

2. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol.II p. 554.

of the disciples brought firewood from the jungle and met their expenses by selling it in the market. Others spent their time in copying out books and thereby earning their livelihood.¹

The Shaikh never allowed futuh or unasked for charity to be accumulated in his Khānqāh. Shaikh Muhammad, a disciple who looked after the distribution of futuh, had definite instructions to distribute whatever was received from the people.²

Moral teachings :

Shaikh Būrhān laid great emphasis on the moral training of his disciples. His Malfūzāt are full of exhortation to his disciples to lead a life of honesty, sincerity and integrity.³

Like all great moral teachers of the world, Shaikh Būrhān was never pessimistic about the reform of persons who had gone stray. He disliked the word 'incorrigible'. "Hate the sin and not the sinner" seems to have been the guiding principle of his moral discipline.⁴

Like Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya, Shaikh Būrhān believed in the efficacy of narrating relevant anecdotes and stories in order to reform the erring people. His malfūzāt abound in

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1. Kashf-ūl-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 94.
 2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
 4. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

numerous stories bearing on moral and ethical discipline of people. Again and again he refers to the development of such virtues as courtesy, generosity, honesty and punctuality. He has criticised the habit of back biting, selfishness, indolence, begging etc.¹

Large number of people brought their problems to Shaikh Būrhān. The Shaikh tried to infuse the spirit of self reliance and contentment in them. It was beyond the means of a medieval saint to eradicate poverty from the people but he could breathe in them a spirit which could sustain them in the midst of the trials and tribulations of life.² Most of the time of Shaikh Būrhān was spent in applying balm to the lacerated hearts of the people.³

The Shaikh was against all discrimination on the basis of birth. Real nobility and greatness, he used to say, did not lie in birth. It lay in a man's character and moral perfection.⁴

1. Thāmrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f.17; Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

2.

تجارت و بیع ایشانوا مانع ذکر حق نباشد پس با ذکر حق تجارت و بیع
قربست و با ذکر دنیا نماز و روزه بعد منقولست -

Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

4. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

The Shaikh hated parasites. He used to say that it was necessary to strive for earning bread. But like Shaikh 'Ali Hajveri, the author of Kashf-ul-Mahjub, he advised his disciples to consider God as the main source of their bread.¹

The Shaikh did not believe in isolation from society. He advised his disciples to live in the midst of people but not to forget Allah. One who cut himself off from society cut himself from the energising currents of social life.

Spiritual discipline :

Shaikh Būrhān meticulously followed the principles which he had formulated for the guidance of his disciples.² He preferred life of sobriety (Sahy) to life of sukr (intoxication). He did not believe in unrestrained display of emotional states. If he found any disciple swayed by emotions and ecstasies, he dealt with him firmly. Shāh Nūr Ramz-i-Ilahi, a disciple of the Shaikh, used to shout aloud the slogan, Būrhān-Allah-u-Akbar. Many other disciples of the Shaikh joined him and there appeared a group among them which constantly shouted this slogan.³ The Shaikh was offended at this erratic behaviour of some of his adherents. When his attempts to mend their ways failed, he handed them over to the Qādi to apply the law of the shariat on

1. Kashf-u'l-Mahjub (Tr. Nicholson) p. 106; Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.) f. 12.

2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

3. Muntakhab-u'l-Lūbāb, Vol. II p. 555; Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

them. Khwāfi Khān says that these disciples were executed under orders from the Qādi.¹

The Shaikh constantly emphasised the following eight principles on which his spiritual discipline was based!

1. Reduction in food,
2. Reduction in sleep,
3. Reduction in conversation,
4. Reduction in social contacts,
5. Frequent fasts,
6. Piety in thought and action,
7. Constant engagement in Dhikr,
- and 8. Keeping the Shaikh constantly in mind.²

The Shaikh thought that no spiritual progress was possible for those who were insolent or disrespectful. He used to say:

هر جا که ادب نیست فیض نیست^۳

(Wherever there is no respect, there is no spiritual blessing.).

Shaikh Būrhān asked his disciples to develop correct attitude towards worldly affairs. He used to say that a mystic's rejection of the world did not mean giving up all efforts to earn livelihood and live a life of seclusion and starvation. People should live in society but should not forget Allah in their dealings with men and worldly pursuits should not lead them

1. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubāb, Vol.II p.555; Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).
3. Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f.3.

stray from the path of virtue.¹ Whatever God has given should be enjoyed properly, he used to say. He warned his disciples against praying to Allah to take away all the pleasures of the world.² He considered health and happiness to be gifts of God, to be longed for and to be properly enjoyed. One day a disciple requested the Shaikh to pray to God to deprive him of all his physical cravings. The Shaikh replied: "Allah has given different faculties and potentialities to men so that they may use them. It is not proper for anybody to ask God to deprive him of these faculties." His advice to his disciples was to pray for consistency in good and protection from evil:

مدد برای خیریت واستقامت باید طلبید^۳

(Help should be sought for well being and perseverance.)

Shaikh Būrhān did not approve of the practice of seeking spiritual guidance from the dead saints. He used to say that one should have a living Pir to guide him on the path of mystic discipline. "Had it been possible to do without spiritual teachers and learn the mystic path from the dead saints", he used to say, "all would have concentrated on the tomb of the prophet".⁴

1. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

4. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.); Thamrāt-ul-Hayāt, (MS.)
f. 11.

The Shaikh was keenly interested in audition parties (Sama).¹ A party of musicians lived permanently in the vicinity of his Khānqāh.²

Scholarship :

Shaikh Burhān was a man of learning and erudition.³ His interest in education and learning continued throughout his life. He maintained a madrasah also where students came from different parts of the country. But he has left no comprehensive work. Only two short brochures, one a commentary on Aman-tubillah;⁴ running into twenty five pages and another a Wasiyat Nāmah⁵ comprising fourteen folios is all that has reached us. It is, therefore, difficult to form any judgement about his scholarship on the basis of these two short works.

Shaikh Burhān was a poet also. His poetry is soaked in the spirit of pantheistic emotions. In his Wasiyat Nāmah he has quoted the Quranic verse:

هو الاول والآخر و ظاهر و الباطن⁶

(He is the first, He is the last, He is the phenomena and He is the noumena).

as the basis of his spiritual thought and experience. In his verses also one comes across the same spirit.

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1. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 553.
 2. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).
 3. Ma'arij-ul-Wilayat, (MS.) Vol. II p. 613.
 4. (MS.) in Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur.
 5. (MS.) in the Muslim University Library at Aligarh.
 6. Wasiyat Nāmah, (MS.) f.1.

Some of his verses are quoted here just to give some idea of his mystic emotions:

ذات حق چون بود اول ہے نشان
نہ تمہیں داشت و نہ نام و نشان
از ظہور و از بطون و از صفات
اومرا بود از جملہ جہات

گشت حاضر در کمال خویشتن	* آنجہ اول بود و آخر ذوالمنن
عاشق آمد در کمال خویشتن	* خواست تا بود وصال خویشتن
فہم بخشد خستہ و الہی را	* تا بدست آرد دل درویشی را
وحدنہ ظاہر شدہ اجمال وار	* قابل تفصیل بود است و شمار
جملہ شانہائے وجود خویشی دید	* غیر او اندر ہمان ناید ہدید
این حقیقت شد شہ کونین را	* زور شد ہر فیضی ہر ہر دوسرا
ہست اینہان ہست خیر جہان	* ناب قوسین است اہلے ازان
ملک او ادنی اشارت زان بود	* نزد اہل حق حقیقت آن بود
وحدنہ را دو صفت کامل بود	* زانکہ اورا ظاہر و باطن بود
باطن اورا احد گویند نام	* ظاہرش واحد بود عند الکرام
آن احد باشد منزو از صفات	* ہست ہمچون اومرا از جہات
و احد آمد متصف اوصاف را	* جملہ دروے ہست ہرے چون و چرا
وحدت اولاً بہر شرط شے بود	* لہک ہر دو گوش شرط شے بود
قوس ظاہر شرط کل الشے بدان	* ہر دو عالم زد ہمہ آرد نشان
شرط اشیاء جملگی در واحد است	* ہم شہوتے وصف سلیں ہرے شک است

In the following couplet he refers to his spiritual teacher, Shaikh Isa:

مہسوی را عشق او ہے خود نمود
عشق را ہے سو بدان اے اہل خود

Popularity :

Shaikh Būrhān was immensely popular and large number of people from different places visited him. Many people brought water to him on which he breathed and this water was given to ailing persons.¹ Even Prince Muazzam who visited him in 1082 A.H./1673 A.D. requested him for some water.²

Death :

Shaikh Būrhān died on Shabān 15, 1083 A.H./1672 A.D. at the ripe old age of eighty five.³

The Shaikhs funeral was attended by hundres^d of thousands of people. Khawafi Khān who had himself attended the funeral says that there was such a huge crowd that it was difficult to say whether

1. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

2. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.).

3. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Būrhān, (MS.). The following chronograms of his death are given in contemporary works:

خواهی بدو وجه رتبه انسانی * تاریخ وصال شیخ برحق دانی

برهان حقیقت حق او بوده و پس * حق جوئی پس از حقیقت برهانی

1083 A.H.

1083 A.H.

سال تاریخ غرض از دنیا * نیت شده بود فخر سلسلهها

جنازه ہر سرانگشتان مردم مرود با ہر ہوا مرود ۱

(Coffin was on the fingers or was moving in the air).

Shaikh Būrhān had left a definite instruction to his disciples to refrain from constructing any structure on his grave. Regardless of his wishes a huge building was erected on his grave.

It is strange that despite his wide popularity and great eminence, Shaikh Būrhān did not leave behind any large number of Khalifahs. Probably after the incident in which most of his devoted disciples were executed, he did not give Khilāfat to anybody. May be that people themselves did not crave for his Khilāfat. Among his disciples two persons deserve to be particularly mentioned — one on account of his literary and the other on account of his religious eminence — Aqil Khān Rāzī, the famous author of Waqat-i-Alangiri, and Mir Sayyid Lutf-ullah, the organizer of the Shattāri order at Bilgrām.

1. Muntakhab-ūl-Lubāb, Vol. II p. 555.

Aqil Khān Rāzi¹

Mir Askari, better known by his title Aqil Khān, was the son of Muhammad Taqi Khwafi who claimed his descent from the Sayyids of Khwaf in Khurasān. During his early age he initiated himself as a disciple of Shaikh Burhān. His respect for his spiritual teacher increased with years and he collected the discourses of his master under the title Thāmrāt-ul-Mayāt. Aqil Khān's life was, however, spent in the court. When Aurangzeb returned from the Deccan to Agra in 1068 A.H./1657 A.D. he joined the service of the prince as second Bakhshi.² On his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb conferred upon him the title of Aqil Khān. He served the Mughal government in various capacities.³ Aurangzeb gave him a mansab of 2000 ⁷⁰⁰ Zat and Sawars.⁴ He served for sometime as Daroghā of Ghul Khānah, Daroghā of Dak chauki and Bakhshi-i-Tan. He was appointed governor of the subah of Delhi in 1681 A.D. and he held this office until his death at the age of eighty two in 1108 A.H./⁵1696 A.D.

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1. For his biographical account see, Alamgir Nāmah, pp.44,94, 193,194,401,478,843; Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, pp.26,82,153,168, 176,195,383; Ma'athir-ul-Umara, Vol. II pp.821-823.
 2. Alamgir Nāmah, p. 41; Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri p.4; Ma'athir-ul-umara, Vol. II p.821.
 3. Alamgir Nāmah, pp. 478, 630.
 4. Alamgir Nāmah, p. 843; Ma'athir-ul-Umārā, Vol. II p. 821.
 5. Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, p. 383; Ma'athir-ul-Umārā, Vol.II p.822.

Aqil Khān was a eloquent poet and used Rāzi as his nom-de-plume. He compiled a diwān and several mathnawis — the Muraqqa, the Shām-u-parwanah, the Mihr-u-Mah and Niḡhamat-al-Razi. In prose he left two works, Thāmrat-ūl-Hayāt and Waqiat-i-Alamgiri.¹

The Thāmrat-ūl-Hayāt is divided into 147 sections dealing with the conversations of Shaikh Būrhān. The compiler does not give any information about himself in this malfuz but every word of the work reveals his deep respect for the great spiritual teacher whose utterances he had undertaken to collect. It may however, be pointed out that Rāzi was not trained in the mystic tradition and so his work does not come up to the standard of the Fawa'id-ūl-Fu'ad or the Khair-ul-Majalis. There are no dates in the work. The sayings have been collected together without any particular care for arrangement according to themes.

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1. The authorship of Waqiat-i-Alamgiri is not clear from the book itself. Khawāfi Khān's following observation has, however, led the modern writers to ascribe the authorship to Aqil Khān:

اگرچه مولفان عهد نویسن هر سه عالمگیر نامه منزوی ساختن اعلی
حضرت را موافق مرض مبارک مجمل بنیان قلم بر آورده اما عاقل خان
خانی در واقعات عالمگیری تالیف خود بشرح و بسط ذکر کرده

Mir Sayyid Latif Ullah¹ :

Mir Sayyid Latif Ullah belonged to one of the oldest and the most respected Muslim families of Bilgrām.² Among his ancestors Sayyid Muhammad Sughra a disciple of Shaikh Qút-b-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī, was the first to settle at Bilgrām. It is said that Sultan Iltutmish had great respect for him. Mir Latif Ullah's father Sayyid Karam Ullah was also very deeply respected by the people of Bilgram and had also constructed a mosque for congregational prayers. Born in this family of religious reputation, Latif Ullah was given the best possible education in traditional subjects. He being a precocious child distinguished himself very early in his mastery of the external sciences. (u'lum-i-Zāhir). Later on he turned to the discipline of his soul and visited Bengal in search of a spiritual master. He enrolled himself in the circle of the disciples of Shāh Azam a little known Sufi of Bengal. He stayed in his Khānqāh for some time and then returned to Bilgrām. Probably adverse circumstances compelled him to join the service of a local chief, Nawab Nijabat Khān. He distinguished himself by his devotion to duty.³ At the age of twenty two he abandoned government service and started again his search for a spiritual teacher. Somehow he reached Shaikh Būrhān and was so impressed by his spiritual qualities that

1. His biographical account is found in Māathir-u'l-Kirām on pp. 108-113.

2. Bilgrām is head quarters of the tahsil of the same name in Hardoi District in Uttar Pradesh.

Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol.VIII p. 235

3. Māathir-u'l-Kirām p. 108.

he got himself initiated in his silsilah.

Mir Latif Ullah received spiritual training from other saints also ——— some of them belonging to mystic orders other than the Shattāri Silsilah ——— but his real attachment throughout his life remained with Shaikh Būrhān. His real contribution was that he trained a very large number of scholars and saints who made their work in the literary and cultural history of the period. Mir Ghulām 'Alī Azād Bilgramī, the famous author of Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām and the Subhat-ul-Marjan, was one of his devoted disciples. Among his other disciples the names of Shaikh Muhammad Hāfiz¹, Sayyid Muhib Ullah², Mir Muhammad Yusuf³, Shāh Rahmat Ullah⁴, Ruh-ul-Amin Khān⁵, Shaikh Muhammad Salim⁶, Sayyid Muhammad⁷, Sayyid Ghulām Mustūfa⁸, Sayyid Nur-ullah⁹, Mir Sayyid Nūr-ul-Haqq¹⁰, Mir 'Azmat Ullah¹¹, and Mir Nawazish Ali.¹²

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1. He held the office of the Qādi of Bilgrām for sometime. He died in 1123 A.H./1711 A.D. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām pp 132-133.
 2. He was a poet of some eminence. His spiritual teacher Mir Sayyid Latif Ullah used to say: "Sayyid Muhibullah can compose better verses than mine". Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām pp. 128-130.
 3. He was known for his knowledge of the traditions of the Prophet. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām pp. 297-298.
 4. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 134 - 139
 5. He was a scholar of Arabic and Persian and was a poet of some eminence. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 287 - 289.
 6. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 131 - 132.
 7. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, p. 139.
 8. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, p. 142.
 9. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 118 - 120.
 10. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, p. 117.
 11. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 113 - 116.
 12. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 116 - 117.

Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami¹ :

Maulana Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami was one of the most outstanding scholars of the eighteenth century. He was born on 25 Safar 1116 A.H./² 29 June 1704 A.D. at Bilgram. His early teachers in inshadith and literature were Mir Tufail Muhammad Bilgrami³, and 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrami⁴.

In 1137 A.H./⁵ 1724 A.D. he joined the discipline of Mir Sayyid Latif Ullah. In 1142 A.H./1729 A.D. he went to Siwistan

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1. For his biographical account see Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram, pp. 154, 161, 167, 264, 272, 281, 285-287, 303-311, Khizanah-i-amirah pp. 123-145; Subhat-ul-Marjan pp. 118-123; Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, (MS.) f. 217; Ithaf-ul-Nubala, p. 530; Hadaiq-ul-Hanafiyah, p. 454; Abdjad-ul-'ulum, p. 920; Tadhkirah-i-ulama-i-Hind p. 154.
 2. Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram, p. 161.
 3. Mir Tufail Muhammad was born at Atrouli ——— a town near Agra in 1073 A.H./1662 A.D. At the age of seven he visited Shahjahanabad and studied with Sayyid Hasan Rasulumā. After completing his education he returned to his native place and enrolled himself as a disciple of Sayyid Sadullah Bilgrami. Later he established a madrasah.

For his detailed biographical account see Ma'athir-ul-Kiram pp. 149-158.

4. 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrami was the maternal grand father of Sayyid Ghulam 'Ali Azad. In 1111 A.H./1699 A.D. Aurangzeb granted him a mansab and appointed him Bakhshi and News writer of Gujarat. He was well versed in several languages particularly, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi.

Ma'athir-u'l-Umara p. 257, Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram p. 53; Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, p. 108. His biography Hayat-i-Jalil was compiled by Maqbul Ahmad Sandani in 1929 A.D.

5. Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram, p. 162.

where his uncle Mir Muhammad¹ bin 'Abdūl Jalil was Mir Bakhshi and Waqā-i-nigār. Azād served there for four years as naib Waqā-i-nigār and naib Mir Bakhshi.² While returning from Siwistān in 1147 A.H./1734 A.D. he met the famous Persian poet, Ali Hazin³ who gave him an autograph copy of his verses⁴.

In Rajab 1150 A.H./October 1737 A.D. Azād proceeded on Haj pilgrimage.⁵ Due to lack of funds he had to face great hardships on this journey. He has given versified account of these hardships in a poem entitled, Tilism-i-Azam⁶ طلسم اعظم

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1. Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami (born in 1101 A.H./1689 A.D.) was a maternal uncle of Azād. He was an erudite scholar of Arabic in which he compiled a book Al-Juz-ul-Ashraf Min-al-Mustatraf

الجزء الأشرف من المستطرف

See Ma'athir-ul-umārā Vol. I p.293; Subhat-ul-Marjān p.87, Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām p. 293; Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind p. 83.

2. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām p. 294. See also Subhat-ul-Marjān pp.88-89 Khizanah-i-'amirah p. 124.
3. For detailed biographical account of Ali Hazin, see Tadhkirah-ul-ahwal; "Walih" Riyad-ul-Shuara Vol. III pp. 223 - 227; Khizanah-i-'amirah pp. 193 - 200; Nujum-ul-Sama pp. 283 - 293, Haft asman pp. 161 - 164; Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin Vol. II pp. 615, 632, 672, 743, 744, 746, 776, Sham-i-Anjuman, p. 130; Shaiḡh Muhammad 'Ali Hazin, his life, times and works by Sarfaraz Khān Khatak, Lahore 1944.
4. Subhat-ul-Marjān p. 97.
5. Ma'athir-ul-Kirām, pp. 303 - 304.
6. Ma'athir-ul-Kirām, p. 304.

During his stay at Medinah, he studied the Prophet's traditions with Shaikh Muhammad Hāyāt¹ and at Meccah he completed his studies with Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb. On 3 Jumada I, 1152 A.H./ 8 August 1739 A.D., he returned to India and lived at Aurangabad in seclusion for seven years at the tomb of Shāh Musafir².

During his stay at Aurangabad he established contact with Nawab Nizām-u'd-daulah Nasir Jang.³

1. Shaikh Muhammad Hayāt belonged to Sindh but had settled at Medinah. Among his teachers the name of Shaikh 'Abul Hasan Sindhi is mentioned. He was widely known in the muslim world for his erudition and learning.

For his biographical account, see Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām p. 164, Subhat-ul-Marjan p.95, Silk-al-durar fi a'yan al-qarn al-thani 'ashar Vol.IV p.34, Ithaf al-nubala' bi-ihya' maathir-al-fuqaha' al-muhaddithin p. 403.

2. Khizanah-i-'amirah p. 125

Baba Shah Musafir was a Khalifah of Bābā Shāh Sa'id Pilang of Kābul. His name was Hāfiz Muhammad Ashur and originally he belonged to Ghajdawān

For sometime he was in the service of Nawab Ghāzi-u'd-din Khān Firuz Jang. Later he resigned from the government service and settled at Awrangabad where he attained great popularity. Some nobles constructed a Khanqāh for him in 1098 A.H./1685 A.D.

Azād wrote about him:

قطب زمان صاحب شان عظیم * شاه مسافر به در حق قلم
خسرو به تاج و نگین و علم * تاج ده قیصر و خاقان و جم
ریح به اسرار حقیقت دواند * دامن همت به دو عالم فزاند
خود شکنی ها اثر ذکر او * روشنی دل اثر فکر او
پادشاه سلسله تشیید * یک نظر او دوجہاں را پسند

Hayāt-i-Jalil p. 168.

3. Nizām-u'd-daulah Bahādur Nasir Jang was the second son of Nawāb Asaf Jah Nizām-ul-Mulk. See Ma'athir-u'l-Unārā Vol. II p. 305.

He also maintained close relations with Samsam-u'd-daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān who was Diwan of the Deccan. When the later was dismissed from his office, Azād played vital role in the negotiations which ended in his restoration to favour.¹ Soon afterwards Shāh Nawāz Khān was murdered (3 Ramadan 1171 A.H./11 May 1758 A.D.) and his house was plundered. In this loot his unfinished manuscript of Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā also disappeared. After considerable search its leaves were recovered and were edited by him.

Azād lived in the Deccan for forty eight years and died at the age of eighty six in 1200 A.H./²1785 A.D. and was buried in Khuldābād.³

Azād was a distinguished scholar and poet of Arabic. He left the following works:

Subhat-al-marjān fi athār-i-Hindustān⁴ !

It was compiled in 1177 A.H./1763 A.D. and is divided into four chapters. First chapter deals with the references to India in the Islamic traditions (تذکرہ) and in the Qūrānic commentaries. The second chapter deals with the biographies of

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1. Subhāt-ūl-Marjān p. 122.
 2. Tadhkirahyi-Ulāmā-i-Hind p. 155.
 3. Khuldabād is a village in the Aurangābād District. The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XV, p. 285.
 4. It was published in 1303 A.H./1885 A.D. at Bombay. MSS are in Manchester (N.292); Calcutta Madrasah (N.88); British Museum (Rieu iii pp. 1022b, 1055b); First and second chapters were translated into Persian, at the request of the Rajah of Benares (MS : Oriental Khūda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur VIII 653). A part of the book has also been translated into Urdu and published under the title Mazhar-i-Adam by the Newal Kishore Press Lucknow in 1870 A.D.

Indian scholars. In the third chapter he has introduced many figures of speech and rhetorical devices discovered by the ancient Hindus. He has adopted twenty three of the Indian figures of speech and has given their Arabic equivalents. The fourth chapter deals with the types of lovers depicted by the poets.

Dau-al-darari : This small brochure is a commentary on Sahih al-Bukhari.

Diwāns¹ : He compiled two Arabic diwans in his early years comprising 3000 verses. Just as Amir Khusrāw has the reputation of being the greatest Persian poet of India, Azād holds the same position in Indo-Arabic poetry.

Azād's other seven Diwāns² seem to have been compiled in his old age.

Tasliyat-al-Fu'ād³ (تسليمة الزايد) is a collection of a large number of poems written in praise of Prophet Muhammad.

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1. It was published in four volumes in 1300 A.H./1882 A.D. in Haidarabad. MSS. in Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (Cat. i p. 696) Muslim University Library, Aligarh (Cat. Subh. p. 126) Rada State Library, Rampur (Cat. i. p. 586). The Diwans were lithographed in three parts Diwan-al-Awwal and Diwan-al-Thalith were lithographed at the Kanz-ul-ulum press, Haidarabad. Diwan-al-thani was printed at the Lauh-i-mahfuz press, Haidarabad in 1287 A.H./1870 A.D.
 2. Selection from these Diwans have been published under the title Sab'ah Sayyarah (سبعة سياره) in the Asi Press Lucknow in 1328 A.H./1910 A.D.
 3. The work has not been published so far. MS. in Kutub Khānah 'Arif Beg of Madinah.

Mazhar-ul-barakat:¹ This mathnawi comprises seven daftars and deals with miscellaneous mystic problems. The first daftar was completed in 1194 A.H./1780 A.D. and the second, third and fourth in 1195 A.H./1781 A.D. The rest of the daftars are undated. Other versified works include Shifa al-'alil fi islah Kalam Abi'l-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi² and Kashkul.³

Ghizlān al-Hind⁴ is a translation of the third and fourth chapters of Subhat al-Marjān.

Shajarāh-i-taiyibāh⁵ deals with the lives of the Shaikhs of Bilgrām.

Raudāt-ūl-auliyā⁶ deals with the biographies of the sufis buried at Khuldabād and was completed in 1161 A.H./1748 A.D.

Yad-i-baidā⁷: It was compiled in Siwistān in 1145 A.H./1732 A.D. and contains biographical account of 532 poets. Later on it was revised and enlarged in 1148 A.H./1735 A.D.

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1. MSS in Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad, Manchester Arabic Cat. 481 (a) Princeton Arabic Cat. (1938) N.136; Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwah (N.16); Kutub Khanah 'Arif Beg of Madinah.
 2. MS. in the personal Library of Ali Husain Bilgrāmi, Haidarabad.
 3. MS. in Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (Ns.242)
 4. MSS. in the Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (N.164) Berlin (1051), Ethe (2135).
 5. MS. in the Asafiyah Library Haidarabad (NS.35, 114).
 6. MSS. in the Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (1.p.320; 111 p.164), Ethe 655.
 7. MSS. in Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (Vol. VIII 691), India Office Library 3966 (b), Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (N.186) Sprenger (N.23).

Khizānah-i-'amirah¹ The work contains biographical account of poets and some contemporary nobles. It was compiled in 1176 A.H./1762 A.D.

Sarw-i-azād,² was compiled in 1166 A.H./1752 A.D.

Ma'athir-ul-Kirām³ contains biographies of poets including sufis and scholars of Bilgrām.

Among his works in Persian verse the following are particularly noteworthy:

1. A Diwān⁴
2. Mathnāwi ba-jawāb-i-Mathnāwi-i-Mir Abd-ul-Jālil Bilgrāmi.⁵
3. Mathnāwi-i-sarapā-yi-ma'shūq.⁶ In this work he has described the beauties of a beloved from head to foot.
4. Sanad-al-Sa'ādat fi husn Khātimat al-Sādāt⁷

Azād's fame as a scholar eclipsed his reputation as a saint and mystic. The names of his pupils are known but we do not know anything about his disciples, Azād's association with the

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1. It has been published by the Newal Kishore Press Lucknow in 1871 A.D.
 2. Printed at the Rifah-i-'Aam-Steamm Press Lahore in 1913 A.D.
 3. It was printed at Mufid 'Aam Press, Agra in 1910 A.D.
 4. MSS. in the Oriental Khuda Bakhs Public Library Bankipur (iii 423), N.830) Sprengel 178.
 5. MS. in the Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (iii p. 632).
 6. MS. in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh (Subh.N.90).
 7. MSS. in the Asafiyah Library, Haidarabad (MS. 372, 101).

Shattāri order enhanced its prestige but did not help in the extension of its sphere of influence and the number of its adherents. The Shattāri spirit, however, permeates the works of Azād. His appreciation of India and her religious and literary traditions as one finds in the Subhat-ūl-Marjān is an echo of the teachings of ShaiKh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior and others of his school of thought. As in the poetry of Amir Khusrau the teachings of the Chishti silsilah have found a powerful expression, the teachings of the Shattāri silsilah and its cosmopolitan attitude have determined the tone and temper of Azād's literary compositions.

C H A P T E R VIII

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD RASHID¹

Though the founder of the Shattāri order, Shaikh 'Abdullah, had visited Jaunpur but he could not plant the silsilah in that region. The credit for popularizing the Shattāri order in Jaunpur goes to Shaikh Muhammad Rashid, a Khalifah of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri.² Popularly known as Diwan Sahib, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid was an erudite scholar and his madrasah-cum-Khanqah was one of the most widely known seminaries of northern India.

Shaikh Muhammad Rashid traced his descent from Shaikh Yakhsbi of Rūm (Asia Minor). No hagiological work gives his biographical account. Only this much is known that one of his grandsons, Mustafa Jamāl-ul-Haqq, had settled at Suklai, a small village in Bengal.³

Shaikh Muhammad Rashid was born in 994 A.H./1585 A.D. It was at the age of nine that he became a disciple of his father.⁴

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1. His biographical account is found in the following books: Ganj-i-Rashidi (MS.); Malfuz-i-Rashidi (MS.) by Shaikh Ghulam Muhi-u'd-din Bhandari; Malfuz-i-Rashidi (MS.) by Qādi Ma'dud Jaunpuri; Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 147-159; Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram pp. 125-126; Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya Vol. I pp. 473, 474.
 2. For his account see infra Chapter V.
 3. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 37.
 4. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 39.

But due to the early death of his father he could not receive any spiritual training from him. When he grew up he went to Mir Sayyid Tayyab Benarsi¹ at Mariadih² and lived in his Khānqāh for sometime. The Shaikh took keen interest in his studies and guided his work both in the pursuit of external and the internal sciences (علوم). Later he directed him ^{to} Shaikh Muhammad Afdal.³ Shaikh Afdal was so convinced of his abilities that he asked him to write a commentary on Sharifiyāh a well known work on the manāzarā (casuistry). Shaikh Rāshid prepared it under the title Rashidiyāh. Shaikh Afdal was delighted at the performance of Shaikh Muhammad Rāshid and highly commended the book which found a place in the literature on the art of debate and discussion.⁴

Later Shaikh Muhammad Rāshid visited Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith⁵ at Delhi and stayed in his madrasah for sometime.

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1. Mir Sayyid Tayyab was son and Khalifah of Mir Abdul Wahid. He was known for his profound knowledge of the religious sciences. The renowned traditionist of Delhi Shaikh Abdul Haqq, used to consult him frequently. He died at the age of seventy eight in 1066 A.H./1655 A.D. and was buried in his family graveyard near the grave of his father. For his biographical account see, Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 47-51.
 2. Mariadih was a village in tahsil Chail of the Allahabad district District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Vol. XXIII (D) p. X/11.
 3. He was a distinguished scholar and Sufi of Jaunpur. His madrasah was famous for its academic atmosphere. The Shaikh himself had great attachment with his students. When one of his famous disciples, Mulla Mahmud, died he was so deeply shocked that he followed him to the grave on the 40th day of his death, in 1062 A.H./1651 A.D. Ma'athir-u'l-Kirām, pp. 202,203; Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, p. 181.
 4. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol.I p. 129.
 5. Shaikh Abdul Haqq was one of the most distinguished scholars of his age. It was he who popularized the science of ahadith (Traditions of the Prophet) in India and introduced standard collections of ahadith in the syllabus of those days. He was a prolific scholar also and left nearly one hundred books, big and small, on different aspects of religion and ethics. His biographical work, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, is considered as one of the most reliable works on Indian mystics. For his detailed biographical account see Hayāt-i-Abdul Haqq.

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq was very old at that time and had completely given up teaching. His son Shaikh Nūr-ul-Haqq¹ had, however, taken his place as the principal teacher in his madrasah. But Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq took keen personal interest in the instruction of Shaikh Rashid. When Nur-ul-Haqq instructed him, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq was always by the side of his son in order to watch the progress of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid. Notwithstanding the fact that Shaikh Abdul Haqq had stopped giving ijazah (certificates) to students, he made an exception in the case of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid and granted an autographed certificate to him. On receiving this certificate Shaikh Muhammad Rashid returned to Jaunpur and set up a Khānqāh-cum-madrasah in order to instruct students who came to him in large numbers. His teacher Mir Sayyid Tayyib Benarsi frequently wrote to him exhorting him to adhere exclusively to teaching profession, but he did not give up instructing disciples and initiating them in the mystic discipline.

One of the saints of Jaunpur who made a deep impression on the mind of Shaikh Rashid was Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus² (Ob. 1052 A.H./ 1642 A.D.). He lived a life of abstinence and did not accept

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1. Shaikh Nūr-ul-Haqq (Ob. 1073 A.H./1662 A.D.) continued the traditions of his father. He was a scholar and poet of great eminence. He wrote commentaries on Bukhārī and Muslim. His account of Akbar's reign in Zubdat-u't-Tawarikh is very interesting. For brief biographical accounts, see Ma'athir-ul-Kirān, pp. 201-202; Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, p. 246; Khazinat-ul-Asfiya Vol. II pp. 356-357.
 2. His biographical account is found in Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. I p. 130, Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.) p. 367; Murad-ul-Muridin, (MS.) f. 28; Usul-ul-Haqud (MS.) p. 79; Risalah-i-Halat-i-Qalandariyah, (MS.) f. 14, Fusul Masoodiyah, p. 61; Hujjat-ul-Arifin, (MS.) f. 19.

futuh. He earned his livelihood by collecting ^{five} wood in the jungle and selling it in the market. He was known for his aversion towards all things worldly and did not permit rich men or nobles to come to him. He was considered as one of the greatest qalandars of his age.

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus took keen personal interest in the spiritual training of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid who followed meticulously his instructions. The Khānqāh of Shaikh Abdul Quddus ^{stood} on the bank of the river Gomti and nobody could reach it unless he knew swimming. Shaikh Muhammad Rashid learnt swimming in order to establish closer contact with Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus¹. Pleased with the devotion and sincerity of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid, he granted permission to him to enrol disciples in four silsilahs—Qadiriyyah, Firdausiyyah, Qalandariyyah and Madariyyah. When Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus became old and infirm he entrusted the task of giving spiritual training to new entrants to Shaikh Muhammad Rashid.²

Though Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus had exercised great influence on the life of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid but he could not develop any keen interest in the teachings of the silsilahs with which he was associated. Ultimately he visited Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri and enrolled himself in the Shattāriyyah Silsilah. The

1. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. I p.130.

2. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. I p.130.

teachings of this Silsilah exercised particular fascination for him and throughout his life he zealously propagated the teachings of the Shattāris.

Though Shaikh Muhammad Rashid had, in his early years, written a book on the art of discussion, he did not like casuistry. Once Shaikh Muhibbullah¹ of Allahabad came to see him and asked some questions. The Shaikh remained silent as he thought it unwise to discuss controversial problems. "It does not behove a sufi to indulge in discussions", he told his audience when Shaikh Muhibbullah had left.

Following the traditions of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid visited the Yogis and learnt from them the following practices ——— Tahan Asin, Jigar Asin and Bajar Asin²

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1. He was a disciple of Shaikh Abu Said Gangohi, a chishti saint, and claimed his descent from Caliph Umar. Originally he belonged to Saidpur ——— a village near Khairabad but he settled at Allahabad and established a Khanqāh there. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud and was, on that account, considered a second Ibn-i-Arabi. His knowledge of the works of Ibn-i-Arabi was excellent and he could elucidate with remarkable clarity many an abstruse and involved point in his works. Besides large number of works on different aspects of mystic thought and discipline, he wrote commentaries on Fusus-ul-Hikam in Arabic and Persian. One of his risalahs, Risalah-i-Taswiyah, was burnt at the order of Aurangzeb as it contained discussions which Aurangzeb considered unorthodox. See Ma'athir-u'l-Kiram; Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind, p. 175.
 2. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. III p. 21
For explanation of these terms please see the chapter on the teachings of the silsilah.

His knowledge of the Hindu mystic practices and his pious ways of life made him popular among the Hindus. It is said that some Hindus had joined the circle of his disciples also.¹ His immediate neighbour was one Sur Jamun Brahman. He was so deeply impressed by his piety and devotion that he became his disciple and began to spend most of his time in the service of the Shaikh. Shaikh Rashid did not insist on converting him to Islam. Of all his habits and interests, the Shaikh did not like only one thing and it was his faith in astronomy. He used to make forecasts about weather etc. The Shaikh gradually diverted his attention from astronomy to other things.²

Shaikh Rashid's reputation gradually spread far and wide. Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abdullah, the author of Ma'arij-ul-Walāyat once came to see him from the Deccan and was deeply impressed by his piety and learning. He presented his commentary on the poetical work of Hāfiz to him.³

Shaikh Muhammad Rashid did not like to have any contact with the rulers or the nobles. Azād Bilgrāmi informs us:

صاحبقران شاهجهان باستماع اوصاف قدسہ خواہی ملاقات نمود
و منقول طلب مصحوب یکے از ملازمان آداب دان فرستاد شیخ اہا
کرد و قدم از کنج عزت برون نگذاشت⁴

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1. Ganj-i-Rashidi (MS.) Vol. II p.40.
 2. Ganj-i-Rashidi (MS.) Vol. II p.40.
 3. Ma'arij-ul-Walāyat (MS.) Vol. II pp. 149-150.
 4. Ma'athir-ul-Kiram, p. 204.

(On hearing about the pious attributes of the Shaikh, Sahib Qiran Shāhjahan expressed his desire to meet him and sent a servant with a message inviting him (to the court). The Shaikh refused the invitation and did not step out of his secluded corner).

The Shaikh Rashid did not approve the popular mystic practice of holding audition parties (sama.). He considered it a 'distraction' and advised his disciples not to indulge in it.¹

Shaikh Muhammad Rashid died at Jaunpur in 1083 A.H./²1672 A.D. and was buried in a village in the suburbs of Jaunpur. This village later came to be known as Rashidabād, after his name.

Shaikh Rashid left the following works:

1. Rashidiyah
2. Tadhkirat-un-Nahv
3. Zād-us-Sālikin
4. Maqsūd-ut-Tālibin
5. Tarjūmah-i-Mūiniyah
6. Hidayāt-un-Nahv

RASHIDIYAH

It is a small brochure in Arabic, ^{and} deals with the art of discussion (manazarah).

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1. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. II p.40.
 2. Ma'athār-ul-Kirām, p. 204; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.)

TADHKIRAT-UN-NAHV

This small risalah comprises six folios and deals with problems of Arabic grammar. It was compiled for Shaikh Muhammad Arshad.

ZAD-US-SALIKIN

This small brochure of eleven folios deals with general mystic problems and was written for Shaikh Abdul Majid.

MAQSUD-UT-TALIBIN

Shaikh Rashid wrote this risalah for his disciple Nuṣrat Jamāl Multānī. It deals with the requirements of mystic discipline in Arabic.

TARJUMAH-I-MUINIYAH

This risālah was compiled during his old age for the guidance of Shaikh Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din.

HIDAYAT-UN-NAHV

Like Tadhkirat-un-Nahv this risālah also deals with problems of Arabic grammar.

Except the Rashidiyah, no risālah has any significance. They are ordinary compositions dealing with ordinary problems. The Shaikh's reputation as a writer of Arabic rests on Rashidiyah, a work of his early years but very mature and forceful.

Shaikh Rashid was interested in poetry also. He is reported to have left a diwan, which was known as Diwān-i-Shamsi, Shamsi being his takhallus (nome de plume). This Diwān is not

available now. Some of his Hindi verses are, however, quoted in Ganj-i-Rāshidi.¹

Shaikh Muhammad Rashid left behind four sons — Muhammad Hamid, Shaikh Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din, Ghulām Qutb-u'd-din and Muhammad Arshad. The youngest, Muhammad Arshad, succeeded his father and continued the traditions of his family; others were more inclined towards government service and worldly affairs.

Shaikh Muhammad Arshad² was born in 1041 A.H./1631 A.D. at Jaunpur. He received his education at the feet of some of the

1. e.g. the following verses:

سکہ کا نام نہ لیون میں ماتہ ہون دکھ
جاگے من دکھ ہی دوکھی واکو سکھ
جا کون سکری رہن نام ہیو سرت رہون
سن سن ہیو کے ہیو میں موہر جیون
کرن ہرے اسنان کودی گوری بدن سون
سوچ لاوی دھان گوری کا موکھ دکھ کے
حل چل ہر نم ہوی رہی کا دھوپ کا جہانہ
ہو کے مورچھت سے ناچ لوہی جہانہ

جس کے نام نہ لیون میں ماتہ ہون دکھ
جاگے من دکھ ہی دوکھی واکو سکھ

2. His biographical account is found in the following books: Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol.II p.87; Ma'arij-ul-Walāyat, (MS.) Vol.II pp.148, 149; Ganj-i-Arshadi (MS.); Ganj-i-Fayyadi, (MS.).

most distinguished scholars of Jaunpur. He studied grammar and syntax with Shaikh 'Abdul Shakur, Sharah-i-Jāmi with Maulana Ilaḥdād Jaunpuri, logic with Mulla Nūr-u'd-din, Qūtbi and Sharah-i-Hidayat-ul-Hikmat with Shaikh Muhammad Afdāl Jaunpuri.¹ His uncle Shaikh Muhammad Wālid also instructed him in some sciences. Subsequently he studied mystic works like Fusus-ul-Hikam of Ibn Arabi, Awarif-ul-Ma'arif of Shaikh Shahab-u'd-din Suhrawardi, and Bustan-i-Abul laith with his father.² After completing his education at the age of twenty-one he joined the Shattāri discipline of his father. Later on he visited Shaikh Abdul Latif and learnt from him the practices of the chishti silsilah. His real spiritual affiliation, however, remained with the Shattāri silsilah.³

Shaikh Arshad was deeply interested in imparting instruction to students who came to him in large numbers. He provided free boarding and lodging facilities to his students.⁴

Shaikh Arshad was a poet of some eminence and used Waliha as his nom-de-plume. He left a Diwān of Persian verses which is

1. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 87.

2. Ganj-i-Rashidi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 87.

3. Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 17.

4. Ganj-i-Fayyadi, (MS.) p. 55.

not available now.¹ Some of his Hindivi verses are quoted in Ganj-i-Arshadi.²

Shaikh Arshad died in 1113 A.H./1701 A.D. and was buried at Rashidabad.³

Disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid :

Like Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid also left behind a very large number of pupils but the number of his disciples and Khalifahs was very limited. The Ganj-i-Rashidi gives the following names of his disciples:

1. Shaikh 'Abd'ul Majid
2. Mulla Abd'ul Shakur Manevi
3. Shaikh Mubarak Muhi-u'd-din
4. Maulana Nur-u'd-din
5. Shaikh Ayit Ullah
6. Nusrat Jamāl Mūltāni
7. Shaikh Muhibbullah
8. Sayyid Mir Qiyām-u'd-din
9. Mir Sayyid Jaffar
10. Shaikh Yasin Jhousi

None of these disciples could, however, attain great popularity. Their fame remained confined to some villages and towns of eastern U.P. and Bihar.

1. Ganj-i-Fayyādi, (MS.) p. 56.

2. For instance, see:

کب طمین موری سام ستروا * چدن انگ بهیو سلوش
بهیو بن مور سنگار نه بهای * لاکت تو مون مانگ ستروا
ارشاد پیر تمین بن موکون * لاکت سیم جگ اندروا
لوری کیا سو اوتنه چاک ری * بهیو بهیو پنجهن صب جاگی

Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 27.

3. Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.) Vol. II p. 31

CHAPTER IX

SHATTARI SAINTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

The attitude of the Muslim mystics towards the state has differed from time to time and has been determined by particular circumstances and situations but an established tradition of the early mystics has always been to give a wide berth to the government of the day. This attitude was based on the following considerations:¹

- I. Government service distracted a mystic from the single minded pursuit of his ideal—living for the Lord alone.²
- II. Gnosis (ma'rifat) was beyond the reach of one who spent his time in shughl.³ The days when government service was a service of religion were dead and gone. Now it was the service of class interests and hence acceptance of government service amounted to signing one's own spiritual death — warrant.

1. The attitude of the early Indo Muslim Mystics towards the state has been discussed by Mr.K.A.Nizami in a series of articles in Islamic Culture. October, 1948- January 1950.

2. Shaikh Al-Hujwairi cites this sentence of Shibli

القبر لا يستقى بشئ من دون الله

(The poor man does not rest content with any thing except God-Kashfu'l-Mahjub, Eng.Tr. p.25) for a very pathetic story of a mystic trying to live for the Lord alone, see Khair-u'l-Majalis p.178.

3. Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p.363. In medieval Persian literature the word Shughl is almost invariably used for government service. Amir Khurd quotes the following couplet of Baba Farid:

گروصال شاه می داری طمع * ازوصال خویشین مهجور باقی

III. The income of the rulers was through sources which had no legal sanction. Imām Ghazzālī puts it: "In our times, the whole or almost the whole of the income of the Sultāns is from prohibited sources. The permitted income is only sadāqat, fay, and ghanimah and these have no existence in these days. Only the jiziyah remains but it is realized through such cruel means that it does not continue to be permitted." Consequently all services paid from these sources of income were illegal.

IV. All Muslim political organizations, from the fall of the Khilāfat-i-Rashida to the rise of the Sultanate, were essentially secular organizations and had nothing to do with religion or religious ideals. The entire court-life and the governmental organization breathed an atmosphere so alien to the true spirit of Islam that it was impossible to serve the state without detriment to one's spiritual personality. Under the circumstances, as Imām Ghazzālī argues, "the other alternative is that a man should keep aloof from kings so that he may not come face to face with them and this alone is feasible for there is safety in it. It is obligatory (on a mystic) to have the conviction that their cruelty deserves to be condemned. One should neither desire their continuance nor praise them nor enquire about their affairs, nor keep contact with their associates."¹

1. Ihya-u'l-Ulum, Chapter IV

- V. If a mystic associated himself with the governing class, he isolated himself from the main sphere of his activity — the masses. He ceased to be one of them and became part of a bureaucratic machinery.

In view of all these facts the early Muslim mystics firmly advised their disciples: "If you desire to attain the position of great saints do not pay attention to the princes."¹

While discussing the ten cardinal principles of the shattāri silsilah, Shaikh Bahā u'd-din, the author of Risalah-i-Shattāriyah lays great emphasis upon "resignation," "contentment" and "seclusion", implying thereby that any contact with centres of political power and authority was not justifiable according to the mystic principles.

The history of the Shattāri ^{silsilah}, however, shows that these basic ideals were rarely respected by their saints. They freely associated with kings and princes, led comfortable life and managed big jagirs. Their craze for political power was indeed irreconcilable with the highest traditions of the silsilah-i-Bustamiyah, their parent silsilah. Life of ecstasy, which was the only means of "Divine Realization" according to the Shattāris, could not possibly be led in the suffocating atmosphere of the court. Their life contradicted their philosophy and their philosophy contradicted their life. They tried to resolve this contradiction by the plea so common yet so unconvincing in

1. Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 75.

spiritual history : "welfare of the people", they said, "obliged them to adopt such a course."¹ Shaikh Sadr-ud-din Dhakir told Ghauthi, the author of Gulzār-i-Abrār, that if welfare of the people be the leitmotif of a saint in associating with the rich, he is above blame.²

Shaikh 'Abdullah and his relations with the rulers.

When Shaikh 'Abdullah, the founder of the Shattāri silsilah, reached India, the country was divided into a number of independent kingdoms. He was received differently in the different kingdoms he visited during his Indian itinerary. The Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur did not receive him with an open heart.³ Probably, it was the military outfit of his disciples that created suspicion in his mind. Under such circumstances Shaikh 'Abdullah

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1. Long before Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Hadrat Sufyan Thauri had written to Hadrat 'Ibad bin 'Ibad

ایاک والامراء ان تدنومهم او تخالطهم فی شئ من الاشياء وایاک
ان تخرج وبقال لک تشفع وتدرہ مظلوم او تود مظلّم فان ذلک
خدمۃ ابلیس

(You abstain from mixing with nobles, and abstain also from being deceived by saying that you go to the rich just to recommend some one, or to defend some innocent man, or to establish some one's right. All these are deceptions of the devil)-vide Islamic Culture, October 1948.

2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.290
3. Risālah-i-Ibrāhimi, (MS.) ff.177,179; Ma'arij-ul-Walāyat, (MS.) Vol. II p. 545.

could hardly stay in Jaunpur. He then turned towards Mālwah. Sultān Ghiyath-u'd-din Khalji was, at that time, besieging the fortress of Chittor and so far all his efforts to occupy it had proved abortive. He sought the Shaikh's blessings and when, quite unexpectedly, the fortress fell he attributed his success to the blessings of the Shaikh. He requested the Shaikh to settle in Mandu. Shaikh 'Abdullah complied with his request and not only made Mandu his permanent abode but maintained amicable relations with the sultan also. The fact that he dedicated his famous book Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah to sultan Ghiyath-u'd-din shows the extent to which he had identified himself with the rulers of Mālwah.

Shattāri support |
to the Mughals. |

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, one of the most popular saints of the Shattāri silsilah, played a more significant role in contemporary politics. He extended his hand of cooperation to Babur and helped him in consolidating Mughal power in India. After the battle of Panipat, Babur found himself confronted with the difficult problem of dealing with a number of Afghan nobles who exercised almost independent power in their jagirs and principalities. Tātār Khān Sarang Khāni, the Chief of Gwalior joined hands with the Chief of Mewāt, Rabiri, Bianah, Etāwah, Dholpur and Kalpi and adopted a hostile attitude towards Babur.¹ But soon afterwards

1. P.de Courteille, II p. 233; Ilminski p. 381 as cited by Rushbrook Williams in his "An Empire Builder of the 16th Century" p. 140.

he realized that a policy of resistance against the Mughals could not yield fruitful results. He offered to submit to Babur. But before the actual surrender could take place he again changed his mind and decided to deceive Babur. At this stage Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth played a very important role and facilitated the Mughal occupation of Gwalior. Babur sent Khvajah Rahimdad, Mulla Afaq and Shaikh Guran to take charge of the fort, but Tātār Khān now went back from his promise and shut himself up in the fort.¹ At this stage the Shaikh sent a message to Rahimdad apprising him of the intention of Tātār Khān to play a foul game with Rahimdad and advised him to enter the fort through some subterfuge.² Rahimdad acted accordingly and sent a diplomatic message to Tātār Khān in which he expressed his fear at the preparations of the hostile neighbouring chiefs and sought protection for himself also. Tātār Khān did not understand the trick and was inveigled into extending the necessary permission to pass the night in the fort. While Rahimdad had arranged all this, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth supported him in a different way. He ordered his disciples, who were gate keepers of the fort, to open the gates for the Mughal army.³ Thus the Mughal soldiers entered the fort. Tātār Khān was taken by surprise when he found the Mughal army inside the fort. There was no alternative but to surrender to the Mughal generals.⁴ Thus the conquest of Gwalior by the generals of Babur

1. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22 - 23.

2. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22, 23. See also Babur Nāmah, Vol. II p. 540.

3. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22, 23.

4. Babur Nāmah, Vol. II p. 540.

was made possible by the inter-cession and help of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. The circumstances which forced the Shaikh to resort to such an extreme action are not known, but probably personal bitterness against Tātār Khān was one of the factors responsible for this. It is said that Tātār Khān had patronised Sayyid Muhammad Sarani, another saint of Gwālior, with whom the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth were not cordial at that time.

Shattāri Saints
as teachers of
occult sciences
at the court of
Humayun.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and his brother Shaikh Bahlul were known for their interest in occult and thaumaturgical sciences in which they had acquired great proficiency. Humayun's interest in astronomy drew him to a study of these sciences also and he established contact with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Bahlul. Bada'uni informs us:

همایون پادشاه را بهر دوی این بنوگوار نسبت عیدت و اخلاص
بکمال بود چنانچه بکم کسی دیگر آجبهه داشته باشند و طریق دعوت
اسما ازین اعزو یاد میگرفتند^۱

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 4.

("Humayun had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism".)

All later Mughal historians, including Jahāngir, confirm this and speak in detail about Humayun's cordial and respectful relations with these two brothers.¹ According to Mu'tamid Khān they were not merely associates but were companions with strong spiritual affinities (ساجان روحانی).

It is, however, surprising that Abul Fadl strikes an altogether different note. He speaks about their influence on Humayun in most disparaging terms and remarks: "Though these two brothers were void of excellences or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages and practised incantation with the Divine Names. They made these the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining, by the help of simpletons, the society of princes and amirs, they put sainthood to sale and acquired lands and/ villages by fraud. His elder

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, p. 258; Memoirs of Jahāngir, (Rogers) Vol. II p.63; Iqbāl Nāmah, Vol. I p. 149.

2. Iqbāl Nāmah, Vol. I p. 149.

brother (Shaikh Bahlul) was in the service of Jannat Ashiani (Humayun), and as the later was inclined towards magic he held the Shaikh in reverence. The Shaikh (Bahlul) also privately and when in the company of simple ones used to boast of his having relations with H.M. Jahanbani of devotion and teachership."¹

There is no doubt about it that some nobles and even theologians had joined the order of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth because of his intimate relationship with Humayun but Abul Fadl's remarks are, to say the least about them, most uncharitable.²

1. Akbār Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 135; (Eng.Tr.) Vol. II p.

2. Sādiq Khān the author of Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, [(MS.) f.250] writes:

از امیر تا وزیر همه مرید و معتقد و نیازمند ایشان شدند حضرت
جنت آشیانی به شیخ بهلول (بہلول) بعنوان مریدی سلوک میکرده اند
و چون آنحضرت مرید وی شد ناچار طهارت و فضا و تدائیس پادشاهی مثل
مولانا جلال الدین تنوی که از دانشوران وقت و مقرب پادشاه بود و
مولانا محمد بهر علی طریق موافقت پادشاهی بجا آورده

"From amirs to wazir all became murids and believers in them. Humayun used to behave towards Shaikh Bahlul like a disciple. His Majesty joined his order and, willy nilly, the scholars and courtiers of the king like Maulānā Jalāl-u'd-din Taṭṭāwī and Maulana Muhammad Pir 'Alī also emulated the king and joined his discipline."

Ghauthi refers to courtiers, like Maulānā Jalāl-u'd-din Taṭṭāwī and Maulana Muhammad Pir 'Alī who had joined his order more in view of the influence that he commanded at the court than his spiritual excellence, Gulzār-i-Abrār (RG.) f. 149.

These brothers stood by Humayun not only in the days of his ascendancy but supported him even in his adversity. Shaikh Bahlul gave his life for his support of Humayun against Mirza Hindāl and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth incurred the displeasure of Sher Shāh for his support to Humayun.

During his stay at Chunar Humayun received information about the rebellious intentions of Mirzā Hindāl. It was a critical moment and he could not afford to leave Chunar without accomplishing his objective. He sent Shaikh Bahlul to persuade Hindāl to abandon his seditious activities and cooperate with Humayun. When the Shaikh reached the outskirts of the city, Hindal came out and received him warmly.¹ Due to the immense moral influence which the Shaikh had over the people, Hindāl hesitated for some time to proceed with his plans. But, later on when Haji Muhammad Khān Koki, Dindār Baig, Khusrāu Kokaltash, Mirzā Nur-u'd-din Muhammad and some other selfish nobles arrived in Agrā and began to persuade Hindāl to declare his independence,² the presence of Shaikh Bahlul was considered to be the only hurdle in the way. Hindāl permitted Nur-u'd-din to deal with the Shaikh as he thought fit. Nur-u'd-din concocted a false charge against the Shaikh that he had secret correspondence with Sher Shāh and was supplying horses to the Afghans.³ The purpose behind these calumnious charges was to provoke the Mughāl nobles

1. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. I p. 155.

2. Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhi, (RG.) ff. 18,19.

3. Tadhkirāt-u'l-Wāqī'at, (RG.) ff.18,19; Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhi, (RG.) f. 23.

against the Shaikh and to provide a moral justification for his execution. After thus discrediting the Shaikh, Nūr-u'd-din got him executed in 945 A.H./¹1538 A.D. at Shahibagh in Agra. As the Shaikh was held in high esteem by the ladies of the haram, there was considerable resentment among the Mughāl ladies on this execution. When Hindāl visited his mother to congratulate her on his assumption of royal power, he found her in mourning dress. She rebuked Hindal for the heinous murder he had committed.²

The execution of Shaikh Bahlul at the hands of Hindal further cemented the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Humayun. When Humayun went on exile, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth found northern India too hot for him. He migrated to Gujārat to hide his head under safer clime.³ Abul Fadl suggests, probably in order to belittle his services to the Mughāl rulers, that it was nothing but mere fear that drove the Shaikh to Gujarat.⁴ Badauni, on the contrary, definitely says:

چون شہزادہ در مقام آزاد شیخ محمد شد سفر کجرات اختیار نمود.⁵

1. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. I p. 155; Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī, Vol. II p.42; Waqi'at-i-Mushtāqī, (RG.) ff.47,50; Majalis-u's-Salātin, (RG.) f.70; Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II pp.576, 577.

2. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. I p. 156.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III p.5; Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 188; Tabaqāt-i-Shahjāhānī, (MS.) p. 301.

4. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 135.

5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. III pp.4,5; Iqbāl Nāmāh, supports Abul Fadl's statement (Vol. II, p. 149).

("As Sher Shāh began to give Shaikh Muhammad trouble he left for Gujārat".)

Even when in exile, Humayun did not forget Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and frequently exchanged letters with him.¹ Once he wrote to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth:

بعد از عرض آداب دست بوس محروص آنکه عنایت قدیرلم بزل از گویوه
دشواری تقدیر به بدرقه توجه و دعای ایشان و جمع درویشان باسانی
بر آورد - و از سوانح روزگار فتنه انگیز آنچه پیش آمد بجز محروص ملازمت
باعت آزاد خاطر و سبب تیرگی دل نه گردید - و در هر نفس و هر گام خیال
در کرد این اندیشه بود - که آن دیو سوسخت مردم بآن ذات ملکوت صفات
چه سلوک کرده باشند ! - چون شنید که در همان نزدیکی ایشان نیز
هجرت به دیار گجرات فرمودند دل ازان اندوه گرفتاری قدری رهای یافت -
و پیوسته از صدق عقیدت امیدوارست - که فعلاً فضل کردگار همچنان که از
تنگنای آفت بیرون آورده از بند اندوه ناک میکور آزاد ساخت از محنت
مفارقت صوری نیز خلاص بخشد -

سبحان الله چگونه سهام و شکرگزاری بهمن باطن نشین آن
رهنمای حقیقی به تقدیم رساند - با اگر اسباب پریشانی که بظاهر قالب
فرو پیچیده است در جبهت وحدت سرای سوادای قلب باندازه بک ذره
قصوری و فتوری راه نیافته - راه آمد و رفت باندازه قافله دعای خیر
پیوسته مسلوک باد -

1. Muhammad Ghauthi had found these letters in the custody of Shaikh Mahmud Jalal. (Gulzar-i-Abrar (RG.) f.188). The author of Ma'athir-u'l-Umarā, (Vol.II p.581) has copied these letters from the Gulzar-i-Abrar.

("After respects and kissing of hands I beg to represent that the favour of the Almighty together with the guidance of your Reverence and of all the dervishes have brought me out from the defiles of difficulty into ease. What has occurred from intriguing fate has not grieved me further than it has excluded me from serving your Reverence. At every breath and at every step my thought was how will those demon - natured men (Sher Shah and the other Afghans) behave to that angelic personage. When I heard that your Reverence had at about the same time departed to Gujārāt, my heart was somewhat relieved from this anxiety. My hope in God is that as He has brought you out from the trouble of that worthless one, He will also free me from the pain of seeming separation. Good God! How shall I render thanks for His goodness in guiding me? In spite of many calamities which to outward appearance have involved me, in the core of my heart, the abode of worship of Oneness, there has not been a tittle of rift or failure. May the path of coming and going always be trodden and be wide enough for the transit of the caravan of my good wishes!"¹)

To this letter Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth replied:

وصول نامه نام سلطان و مطالعه صحیفه گرامی همایونی مبارک باد - زندگانی
بمخلصان این حدود رسانید - و نوید سعادت صحت و عافیت ملازمان رکاب دولت
برداد - آنچه بگذر وقایع نگار قلمی بود مطابق نفس الامرات هیچ گونه تکلفی
دران واقع نیست مصرع
سخن کز دل برین آید نشیند لا جرم در دل
المرام سرخداوند انسرازاندهنا کی سر گشت
شوریده مباد مصرع در طریقت هر چه بپیشی سالک آید خیر اوست -
هرگاه حق سبحانه تعالی بنده سعادت مند خود را بخواهد بدرجه کمال

1. Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, (Eng.Tr.) Vol. I p. 91.

رسالت پروری باسماي جمال و جلال هر دو مي نويسد يك دور جلال گشت
اکنون چند روز نوبت جلالی است بحکم ان ح المصنوع ان ح المصنوع¹

("The arrival of the distinguished letter of the sovereign, and the perusal of the honoured writing of Humāyun have brought the blessing of life to the faithful in this country. It conveyed also the intelligence of the health and wealth of the servants of the stirrup. What has been written is in accordance with the essence of things. There is no grief for what has occurred^r).

Verse

The word which comes from the heart assuredly settles in the heart (of the recipient).

My prayer is, May my Lord's crowned head be not disturbed by the sad events!

Verse

To the traveller in the right path whatever happens is for his good.

Whenever God designs to lead His servant to perfection He cherishes him both by His beautiful and His terrible attributes. The beautiful attributes have had their cycle; now, for some days, is the time of the terrible ones. As has been said, "with pleasures come pains, with pains come pleasures." The time of the beautiful attributes will soon come again, for according to the 'Arabian² canon, one pain comes between two pleasures. And because the extent of the enclosed is less than the extent of the enclosing, the bride

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) ff. 188, 189; Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 582.

2. The reference is to Sura 94, vv. 5 and 6. "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease". The repetition is taken to mean that for every difficulty there are two pleasures.

of success will soon take her seat on the marriage-dais. May God grant this, and praise be to God both now and here after".¹⁾

Shaikh Muḥammad
Ghauth and Akbar

During Humayun's absence from India Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth built a Khanqāh and a mosque at Ahmadabad and settled there permanently.² When Humayun came back to India he also decided to return to Delhi. But he was not destined to meet Humayun. Humayun's accidental death delayed his departure for some time. When he reached Delhi, Akbar was on the throne. It was but natural that Akbar developed faith in Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth whose attachment with Humayun was now a known fact. Badauni who was jealous of every one held in respect by the Emperor, remarks in a pungent manner:

و مقارن این حال واقعه شیخ محمد غوث که شاهنشاهی را در زمان ابتدای
جلوس از کجرات بانگیختن وسایل و مرغبات در دام ارادت آورده بود³

("While at Gujarat he (Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth) had by means of inducements and incitements, brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher.")

1. Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, (Eng.Tr.) Vol. I pp. 91, 92.

2. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol.III p. 5; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p. 301.

3. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 63.

The Shaikh visited Agra in Rajab 966 A.H./¹1558 A.D. Akbar went out to receive him.² This was too much for those theologians and scholars who were desperately and jealously trying to maintain their exclusive hold over the mind of the Emperor. Shaikh Gādai, the Sadr-us-Sudur, was the first to take up cudgels against him. Badauni informs us:

شیخ گائی را بموجب تنگ جشم و نفاق و حسدی که ایہ ہندوستان
را با ہم دیگر لازمہ ذاتی است آمدن اودکانی بالای دکانش ساختن
خوبی نیامد :

به نزد خود این سخن روشن است
که ہم ہمہ را دشمن است³

("But his arrival was displeasing to Shaikh Gādai who on account of jealousy hypocrisy and envy — which to the saints of Hindustan, in their feelings towards one another, are the very necessities of life — looked on his arrival as a case of opening a shop in the story above his own shop:-

'The Truth of this proverb wisdom will see, that,
Two of a trade can never agree'.")

He organized a campaign of vilification against the Shaikh. The Shaikh had, while describing his spiritual experiences, remarked in his book Mairāj Nāmāh that in his waking moments he

1. Tārikh-i-Ferishtāh, Vol. II p.323; Tabāqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, (MS.) p.301.

2. Muntakhāb-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p.34; Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p.578; Gwalior Nāmāh, (RG.) f.148; Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) f. 192.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 34, (Eng.Tr.) Vol. II p. 28.

had an interview and conversation with the Lord — an experience which, according to him, gave him superiority over the Prophet.¹

Shaikh Gādai brought this to the notice of Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khānān and poisoned his mind against the Shaikh. When the Shaikh met Khaⁿ-i-Khānān, the latter received him coldly and began to criticise the M'airāj Nāmāh. Shaikh Gādai had made him so bitter against the Shaikh that he began to think of inflicting severe punishments on the Shaikh. Abul Fadl informs us that it was through the intercession of some people that the Shaikh got rid of the terror (آسب) of Khaⁿ-i-Khānān.²

The Shaikh then returned to Gwālior. But the circumstances under which he had to leave Agrā added to Akbar's bitterness against the Khān-i-Khānān. Ferishtah writes : "Due to the retirement of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth to his native town Gwālior Akbar was further annoyed with Bairam Khān."³ When Bairam Khān realised the gravity of the situation, he sought to make amends for his past conduct by granting a maintenance allowance of one crore tankas⁴ to the Shaikh. The author of Zakhirat-ul-Khawānin⁵ says

1. Vide M'airāj Nāmāh, (MS.).

(بر حضرت رسالت پناهی صلی اللہ علیہ وآلہ وسلم تقدیم کردند)

2. بوسیله بعضی مردم از آسب خانخانان نجات یافتند

Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 69.

3. Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, Vol. II p. 323.

4. Tabāqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. II p. 142; Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 5.

5. Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin, (MS.) f. 45; See also p. 54 Supra.

that a jagir of nine Lac of rupees was conferred on him. He adds further that the saint lived in such affluent circumstances that he had forty elephants in his possession. But the grant of this allowance does not seem to have brought about conciliation between the Saint and the regent.¹ Contemporary authorities are silent about the relations of the Shaikh with Bairam Khān. But Khawāfi Khān makes a very significant statement when he says that Maham Anka, Adham Khān Kokā and Ahmad Khān (son in law of Maham Anka), had sought the Shaikh's cooperation and moral support against Bairam Khān.² If we read the following remark of Badauni with the above statement of Khawāfi Khān the position becomes fairly clear. He says:

شیخ محمد فوت ابن فتورادرمان عهد نسجه توجه خویش مدانست³

("Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth used to attribute the subsequent confusion (in the affairs of Bairam Khān) to his own attention.")

Sometime after the fall of Bairam Khān Akbar paid a respect visit to the Shaikh at Gwalior. The purpose of the visit was given out to be to obtain bulls and some ointments of Gujārāt from the Shaikh.⁴ It has already been noted that the Shaikh was particularly interested in keeping bulls. During his conversation with Akbar the Shaikh asked: "Have you chosen your spiritual guide?" The Emperor replied in the negative. Thereupon

1. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubāb, Vol. I pp. 143, 144.

2. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubāb, Vol. I pp. 143, 144.

3. Muntakhab-u'l-Tawārikh, Vol. III p. 91.

4. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 68.

the Shaikh politely took his hand in his own and said: "Now I am your spiritual teacher."¹ Akbar smiled but did not utter a word. According to Abū Fādī it was merely due to 'courtesy' and 'shyness' that Akbār did not speak on this occasion.² Probably his silence was deliberate and diplomatic. He was not inclined to have the relationship of pir and murid with any one. Any adverse comment on Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's gesture would have been both impolitic and impolite because it would have injured the feelings and susceptibilities of an elder saint who had suffered for his father and had helped his grandfather during very critical periods.

Abū Fādī says that later on Akbar related to his courtiers the details of his interview with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and "laughed over the trick of getting the bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm".³ Abū Fādī further speaks about the Shaikh in most derogatory terms.⁴ He calls him "boast-

1. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 68.

2. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II pp. 68, 69.

3. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 134.

Abū Fādī quotes this couplet also in order to express his own feeling of contempt towards the Shaikh

بزر دلق طبع کنند ما دارد * دراز دستی این کوه آستینان بین

(under their variegated robes they have nooses,
See the long arms of these shortsleeved ones.)

4. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 134. The author of Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, (Vol. II p. 578) remarks about this observation:

و آنچه بنویسها افتاده (که عرق آشیانی نزمید شیخ بود) از اکبر نامه هم

ظاهری شود - اگرچه شیخ ابوالفضل بنابر هم جشی مشیخت با هموطن

که داشته با همزاج کوی پادشاه در لباس دیگر و نهوده

ful simpton",¹ and makes every possible effort to convince the reader that the Emperor had no genuine or sincere attachment with the Shaikh. We are not, due to the silence of the Shattāri writers and the brief accounts of the court chroniclers, in a position to analyse the reasons for Akbar's indifference and Abul Fadl's bitterness towards the Shaikh. The Shaikh had supported the Mughal rulers from the earliest times and had so completely identified himself with them that he had to suffer great hardships during the Sur interregnum. Besides, the Shaikh was a man who could be of great help to Akbar in implementing his policy of Sūh-i-Kūl (peace with all). The Shaikh was respected by the Hindus and the Musalmans alike and was a keen student of Hindu religious thought and was of superbly tolerant and catholic views.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's attitude towards Akbar, however, remained uniformly sympathetic. A few months before his death he rendered valuable service to Akbar in connection with the occupation of the fortress of Chunar.² One of the Shaikh's disciples, Fattu, was incharge of the fort. Akbar sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Asaf Khān to him. Faṭṭu surrendered the fort to the Mughals.³

1. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. II p. 134.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 63; Tabāqāt-i-Akbārī, Vol. II p. 170.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 63; Tabāqāt-i-Akbārī, Vol. II p. 170.

Shaikh Abdullah in the service of Akbar.

Akbar maintained his relations with the house of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth even after the death of the saint. It was at the instance of Akbar that the Shaikh's son, 'Abdullah, joined the imperial service.

Shaikh 'Abdullah served the Emperor in different capacities. In the beginning he moved with the army probably in some religious capacity. Later on he was given a very important diplomatic assignment and was sent to Badakhshan.¹

When Akbar sent A'zam Khan to the Deccan, Shaikh 'Abdullah was sent to assist him.² In 999 A.H./1590 A.D. he was sent with Murād to the government of Mālwah.³ In the beginning he was given the rank of nine hundred sawar,⁴ but ultimately, according to the author of Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin, he got the mansab of three thousand sawar.⁵

After serving the army for forty years, Shaikh 'Abdullah retired in 1014 A.H./⁶1605 A.D.

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1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.)
 2. Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 383, 384.
 3. Tabāqāt-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 413
 4. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I p.162.
 5. Zakhirat-u'l-Khawānin, (MS.) f. 45; Ma'athir-u'l-Umārā, Vol. II p. 574.
 6. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.).

Shaikh Diaullah in the
'Ibādat Khānah of Akbar

While Shaikh 'Abdullah had joined the service of the state, his younger brother, Shaikh Diaullah, lived on futuh, unasked for charity. When Jalāl Khān Qurchi visited him at Agra, he found him in extremely indigent circumstances.¹ He reported this fact to Akbar² who was deeply touched when he heard that starvation conditions prevailed in the house of the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. On the completion of the building of 'Ibādat Khānah in 983 A.H./1575 A.D., Akbar invited Shaikh Diaullah to Agra and entertained him there. He allotted to him a house also in the neighbourhood of the 'Ibādat Khānah'.³

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din
and Akbar.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi's attitude towards the rulers and the bureaucracy was consistently this: He never took the initiative in establishing contact with them but when they came to him he never refused an interview and did not decline to accept their gifts.⁴ He did not, however allow the atmosphere

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 201.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 202.

3. Details are given on pp. 70 - 77 Supra.

4. Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f. 19.

of the court to permeate the portals of his Khānqāh. Honest and truthful in his dealings, kind and considerate in his attitude towards all, he never refused help to any body, high or low. Eminent nobles of Gujārāt, like 'Imād-u'l-Mulk Arsālān, Sher Khān and others, kept their valuables in his custody and he never betrayed the trust of anybody. When Akbar reached Gujārāt in 1573 A.D. in order to take the recalcitrant nobility to task, some nobles placed their jewellery in his custody.¹ The imperial officers came to know of this fact. They searched his house, confiscated the jewellery and reported the matter to Akbar who showed his usual caution in punishing the Shaikh. He summoned him to his presence and interrogated him as to how he got involved in such matters. The Shaikh's candid reply was that due to his acquaintance with the nobles he had permitted them to occupy one of his houses where they stored all their valuable belongings. Akbar appreciated the Shaikh's truthful reply and pardoned him.²

Shattāri Saints and
the Mahzar

Another important saint associated with the Shattāri silsilah who was rather unwillingly drawn to the court was Qādi Jalāl-u'd-din Mūltāni, a disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alāvi. He led a life of resignation and contentment at Agra and earned his livelihood by some business on a small scale. This business

1. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 63.

2. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 63.

also was subsequently given up by him and he took to teaching profession.¹ Akbar was impressed by his learning and integrity. In 983 A.H./1575 A.D. he appointed him as the chief Qāḍī (Qāḍī-ūl-Qūdāt) in place of Qāḍī Ya'qūb. The Emperor asked him also to write a commentary on the Qūrān and placed at his disposal the services of some theologians.² When the Ulāmā issued the famous Mahzar which gave to Akbar (the imām-i-'adil) a higher place than a mujtahid, and gave him the authority to accept any interpretation 'provided it was in conformity with some verse of the Qūrān (naṣ) and was of benefit to the people', Qāḍī Jalāl was also asked to put his seal on this document.³ He was reluctant to endorse this document and put his seal on it after considerable hesitation.⁴ As was quite natural, Qāḍī Jalāl's prestige at the court suffered a serious set-back on this account. Later on some charges of malversation against his son further damaged his position.⁵ Akbar banished him to the Deccan. Badauni says that the Emperor was under the impression that the Qāḍī's anti Shīah views would lead to his humiliation and execution at the hands of the Shīah rulers of the Deccan.⁶ Contrary to Akbar's

1. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 264.

2. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 211.

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 272.

4. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 272.

5. Akbar Nāmāh, Vol. III p. 228. The author of Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, (Vol. II p. 313) says that the Qāḍī himself had embezzled half million tankas. But Badauni cannot be given any credence in face of Abul Fadl's statement to the contrary.

6. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 313.

expectations Qādi Jalāl was cordially received in the south, probably because he was not liked by Akbar, and the ruler of Bijapur offered a Jagir to him.¹

✓ Shaikh Isa and Akbar :

Shaikh Isa, another important Shattāri saint, maintained amicable relations with Sultān Bahadur Shāh Faruqi of Khāndesh (1005 - 1008 A.H./1596 - 1599 A.D.). When Akbar invaded Asirgarh in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D., the Sultan sought the moral support of Shaikh Isa. Akbar was bitterly annoyed at this. When he occupied the fort he threw Shaikh Isa into prison. It was after sometime that Akbar released him at the intercession of Shaikh Abdullah.²

The Shattāri saints of Ahmadabad and their relations with Jahangir :

The family of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi could not maintain dignified aloofness from the rulers or the bureaucracy. Probably Jahangir himself took the initiative in this matter. He remarks in his memoirs:

1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II pp.313, 314.

2. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f. 55.

فرمانے بہت ہی خان حاکم گجرات در قلم آمد کہ چون از صلاح و فضیلت
و ہر ہنگاری ہر میان وجہ الدین بہن رسیدہ است مہنس از جانب
ما باو گرانیدہ از اسمائے الہی اسے چند کہ مجرب ہودہ باشد نویسانیدہ
بفرستند اگر توفیق ایزدی رفیق شود بدان مداومت نمایم^۱

"A firman was written to Murtudā Khān, governor of Gujārāt, that as the good conduct and excellence and abstemiousness of the son of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din had been reported to me, he should handover to him from me a sum of money, and that he should write and send me some of the names of God which had been tested."²

When Jahangir reached the suburbs of Ahmadabad, the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din came out of the city and accorded a hearty welcome to him.³ Jahangir thus describes his visit to the Khānqāh of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din: "On Sunday the 27th, I went to the monastery⁴ of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din which was near the palace, and the fatihah was read at the head of his shrine which is in the court of the monastery. Sadiq Khān, who was one of the chief Amirs of my father, built this monastery. Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was adorned with visible

1. Tūzūk-i-Jahangiri, p. 61.

2. Tūzūk-i-Jahangiri, p. 211 (Eng.Tr.); Rogers, Vol. I pp.128-129.

3. Tūzūk-i-Jahangiri, p. 207.

4. Hospice would be the proper word for Khānqāh, but I have not changed Roger's translation.

excellences and spiritual perfection. He died thirty years ago in this city (Ahmadabad), and after him Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah, according to his father's will, took his place. He was a very ascetic dervish. When he died his son Shaikh Asad-u'llah sat in his place, and also quickly went to the eternal world. After him his brother Shaikh Haider became lord of the prayer carpet, and is now alive, and is employed at the grave of his father and grandfather in the service of dervishes and is looking after their welfare. The traces of piety are evident on the forehead of his life. As it was the anniversary festival of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, 1500 rupees were given to Shaikh Haider for the expenses of the anniversary, and I bestowed with my own hand Rs.1500 more in charity, on the hand of fakirs who were present in the monastery, and made a present of 500 rupees to a brother of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. In the same way I gave something for expenses and land to each of his relatives and adherents according to his merit. I ordered Shaikh Haider to bring before me the body of dervishes and deserving people who were associated with him, in order that they might ask for money for expenses and for land."¹

Besides these grants, Jahangir gave a robe of honour together with a sum of five hundred rupees to Shaikh Ismail son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth,² and bestowed on the mystics of Gujārāt robes of honour, maintenance allowances and books from his

1. Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīri, p. 211.

2. Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīri, p. 218.

library.¹ Later on he ordered Shaikh Ahmad Sadr and other officers to present before him mystics and needy people for the distribution of alms and charities. He appointed some ladies also in the Haram to distribute money and land among the poor women.²

It appears from some Mughal documents which are preserved in the Khānqāh that Jahangir had given five villages, Bisodra, Bahar Tankah (manglore) Barijari, Dastral, Dantali and Hirna — to Shaikh Haider for the maintenance of the Khānqāh, the Madrasah and the tomb of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din.

Indeed the visit of Jahangir to Ahmadabad symbolised the departure of the descendants of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din from the traditions of their distinguished ancestor. The royal visitor scattered gifts right and left and created inordinate love for jagirs and lands in their hearts.

Another important Shāṭṭārī saint with whom Jahangir was on the best of terms was Shāh Pir. The Miftah-ut-Tawarikh quotes the following verses about his ^{et} could, with Jahangir:

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 218.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 218.

در زمان بلا شک و شبهه
شیخ بهراست طرف باله
از میدان او جهانگیر است
که شهنشاه هند و کشمیر است

In my days without any doubt.

Shaiikh Pir knows the divine secrets.

Jahangir is one of his disciples

Who is king of India and Kashmir.

Jahangir also constructed a mausoleum over his grave.²

After Jahangir the Shattari saints seem to have severed completely their relations with the state and adopted the earlier traditions of the Chishti mystics. This attitude was, to some extent, dictated by the changed religious atmosphere at the Mughal court. After Jahangir, the policy of the Mughal state deviated from the lines laid down by Akbar. The growing Naqshbandi influence at the court, which reached its highest water mark during the reign of Aurangzeb, made it impossible for the Shattaris to have any contact with the court. Shaiikh Rashid refused to meet Shah Jahan³ and Shaiikh Burhan showed no consideration to Aurangzeb when he visited his Khanqah at Burhanpur.⁴

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1. Hiftab-ut-Tawarikh, p. 200.
 2. Tabakat-i-Shahjahanī, (MS.) p. 505.
 3. Masathir-ul-Kiram, p. 204.
 4. Muntakhab-u'l-Lubab, Vol. II p. 554.

CHAPTER X

TEACHING AND PRACTICES OF THE SHATTARI SILSILAH

The teachings of the Shattari silsilah may be considered under the following heads:

1. Metaphysical,
2. Spiritual, and
3. Moral.

Metaphysical :

The basic metaphysical concept of the shattaris was their faith in the theory of Wahdat-ul-Wujud, unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world. The chishtis were, no doubt, the pioneers so far as the exposition of this theory in India was concerned. The shattaris followed in their footsteps in this respect but with one basic difference. The early Chishti saints did not write any book in order to elucidate their ideas on this problem. The only Chishti work of the early period which deals with pantheistic monism is the Mir'at-ul-'Arifin¹ of Mas'ud Bak.² The shattari saints,

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1. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi has given extracts from this work in his Akhbar-ul-Akhyar (pp. 163-64). It is divided into fourteen chapters dealing with such topics as — Reality of Existence, Tawhid, Sahy, Sukr, gnosis. It was published in 1892 A.D. He also left a collection of poems known as Nur-ul-'Ain (MS. in British Museum).
 2. Masud Bak was a relation of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. He severed his relations with the ruling family and took to mysticism. According to the author of Matlub-ut-Talibin (MS.) the ulama had given a fatwa for his execution on account of his pantheistic views. For brief biographical notices, see Akhbar-ul-Akhyar pp. 164-167; Ma'arifi-n'l-Walayāt (MS.) Vol. II, p. 822.

on the contrary, produced large number of booklets and brochures dealing with this topic.¹ It is the recurring theme of the various compositions of the Shattāri saints. It is, however, to be noted that these discussions, though frequent, did not crystalise into any consistent and consolidated exposition of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. They derived their inspiration from the classical work on pantheistic philosophy — the Fusus-ul-Hikam of Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din ibn Arabi. Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri, Shaikh-i-Lashkar Muhammad Arif, Shaikh Isā, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid used to consult the works of Ibn-i-Arabi very frequently and they also recommended them to their students.²

The Shattāris maintained that Allah alone exists; all else is His manifestation. They cite the Islāmic formula

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1. For instance, Risālah-i-Shaikh Hamid (MS.); Risālah-i-Walīh-u'd-din (MS.); Risālah-i-Maslah-i-Takfir (MS.); Risālah-i-Shattariyah, (MS.); Sharah-i-Nuzhat-ul-Arwah, (MS.) by Shaikh Wali Muhammad, Sharah-i-Nuzhat-ul-Arwah (MS.) by Shaikh Sher Ali; Sharah-i-Rubaiyat i-Israr-ul-Wahi, (MS.); Besār Nāmāh, (MS.); Ain-ul-Mani, (MS.); Risālah-i-Shaikh Isā, (MS.) Khwas-i-Nawadh-wa-Nuh Nam, (MS.).
 2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 292; Ma'arij-ul-Walāyat, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 148, 585; Thamrat-ul-Hayat, (MS.) f. 36; Ma'athir-ul-Kiram pp. 125, 126.

of faith — لا اله الا الله (Nothing exists except Allah) in support of their view.¹ They trenchantly criticised the view which represented Allah and the universe as two separate entities.² They even consider dhāt (ذات) and sifat (صفات) to be identical.

Shaikh Muhammad Ala qadin writes:

همی بنفیر وجود خدای تعالی وجود دیگر نیست و امکان ندارد که غیر
خدای را وجود باشد و حده لا شریک له اینجا بر توجوه کند و
اهل وحدت اینجا میگویند که آنچه خود نیست نیست و آنچه هست
هست هستی خدای تعالی است^۳

"So except the existence of Allah, there is no other existence and there is no possibility of there being anything except Allah. He is one and has no Co-sharer is revealed at this stage. The adherents of Wahdat-ul-Wujud declare that who does not exist himself has no existence and who exists is Allah."

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth used to quote the following tradition of the Prophet in support of his pantheistic views:

خلق الادم علی صورة

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1. Iatāif-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f.10a; Jawāhar-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f.267; Manahij-us-Shattar, (MS.) f. 81a.
 2. Maadin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f.107b, Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattar (MS.) f.3.
 3. Maadin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f. 108a.
 4. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) f.1.

(He created man after His own image.).

Shaikh Allah Bakhsh frequently quotes the following ahadith to substantiate his views about Wahdat-ul-Wujud:

انا جلس من ذكرني^١

(I am his companion who remembers me.)

انني جعلتك في الفؤاد محدثي^٢

(I discovered you in the heart, talking with me.)

حبيب قلبي في الفؤاد انسي^٣

(Friend of my heart is a companion in my heart.)

Shaikh Burhān has remarked in his Wasīyat Nāmāh:

یکی بیند یکی داد و یکی گوید و یکی جوید و هر چه بیند از او بیند
و هر چه داد از او داد هو الاول والاخر و ظاهر والباطن^٤

"One should be seen, one should be known, one should be talked about, one should be searched and all that is visible should be regarded as His manifestation and all that is known is known due to Him: He is the first He is the last, He is the phenomena and He is the noumena."

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1. Munis-udh-dhakirin p. 46.
 2. Munis-udh-dhakirin p. 53.
 3. Munis-udh-dhakirin p. 53.
 4. Wasīyat Nāmāh (MS.) f. 1.

S p i r i t u a l

1. Development of cosmic Emotion

The key and kernel of the teachings of the Shaṭṭārī silsilah was the cultivation of cosmic emotion (عشق). All Shaṭṭārī works emphasise this again and again as the supreme ideal of a mystic's life.¹ The founder of the Tariqah-i-Ishqīyah, Shaikh Bayazid Bistāmī, who was looked upon by the Shaṭṭārīs as their greatest saint and from whom they received inspiration in almost every sphere of their spiritual discipline, believed that a life of spiritual intoxication (sukr), arising out of cosmic emotion, was superior to a life of spiritual sobriety² (صبر). The Shaṭṭārī saints of India generally believed in the supremacy of the life of ecstasy, but when scholars like Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi and Shaikh Burhān joined the Shaṭṭārī fold, greater restraint was placed on the life of unchecked spiritual ecstasy.³ We have referred in the preceding pages to the treatment meted out by Shaikh

1. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) f.13; Maadin-ul-Asrar (MS.) f. 48; Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattar (MS.) f.2; Avrad-i-Qadin Shattar, (MS.) f.4.

2. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) f.13; Maadin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f. 48.

3. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.); Muntakhab-u'l-Lubab, Vol. II p. 555.

Burhan to some of his disciples, who raised the slogan Burhan-Allah-o-Akbar.¹

2. The Eight fold path :

The Shattāris recommended the following eight fold path to those who joined their discipline:

- (i) Reducing diet
- (ii) Reducing sleep
- (iii) Reducing conversation
- (iv) Reducing contact with worldly people
- (v) Frequent fasts
- (vi) Piety in thought and action
- (vii) Constant dhikr (meditation).
- (viii) Constant remembrance of spiritual teacher.²

No body could attain ma'rifat (gnosis) unless he had firmly followed this path.

3. Dhikr (ذکر) :

The Shattāris considered dhikr as one of the most important and effective method of spiritual discipline.³ Every

1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. II p. 555.

2. Nasiyat Namah, (MS.) f.1; Thawrat-ul-Hayāt (MS.) f.40.

3. Avrad-i-Qadin Shattar, (MS.); Jawahar-i-Khamsah, (MS.); Avrad-i-Sufiyah, (MS.); Risalah-dar-Mani-i-Haroof, (MS.); Munis-udh-dhakirin Sharah-i-Risalah-i-Kinz-ul-Israr-fi-hal-Ashghal-i-Shattar (MS.); Adab-udh-dhikr, (MS.); Asnad-i-Ashghal-i-Shattariyah (MS.); Majmaah-i-Shiirajāt, (MS.); Munis-ul-Fugara, (MS.); Ashghal-i-Shattariyah, (MS.); Avrad-i-Imam-u'd-din, (MS.).

new entrant to the Shattari fold was asked to practise dhikr.¹ Next to the Mehdavis, the Shattaris laid great emphasis on the spiritual value of continuous dhikr.

Of the various types of dhikr, the Nafi athbat was the most popular amongst the Shattaris.² While performing it, they sat crossed legged, with their face towards qiblah, and their eyes wide open. One of the arteries, which they called رگ کبای, was pressed with thumbs and their feet fingers. Slowly they raised their heads towards sky and uttered: Y (There is nothing) and drew their breath inwards. Then they turned their heads to the right and uttered Yl Ilaha (Except) and then released their breath. Then they lowered their heads towards their hearts and recited الله (God) drawing their breath inwards.

In almost every Shattari Khanqah this dhikr was performed day and night.

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1. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) f.16; Maadin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f.32; Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattar, (MS.) f.4; Avrad-i-Qadin Shattar, (MS.) f.2; Jawahar-i-Khamsah (MS.) f.21; Asnad-i-Ashghal-i-Shattariyah (MS.) f.2; Ashghal-i-Shattariyah, (MS.) f.3; Thamrat-ul-Hayat, (MS.) f.26; Malfuzat-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattari (MS.) f.11; Manahij-us-Shattar (MS.) f.23; Avrad-i-Inam-u'd-din (MS.) f.2.
 2. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) ff.10,11; Maadin-ul-Asrar (MS.) f.34a; Riyad Khas, (MS.) f.29a; Makhzan-ud-dawat, (MS.) f.233; Manahij-us-Shattar (MS.) ff.63b, 81b, b, 106a.

4. Position of the Pir

The Shaikh or the pir occupied a pivotal position in the mystic discipline of the middle ages. The Adab-ul-Muridin of Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Abdul Qahir Suh^arwardi, and the Awārif-ul-Ma'arif of his nephew, Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suh^arwardi, describe in detail the principles of relationship between the Shaikh and his disciple. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya used to say that a disciple should be in the same position with reference to his Pir in which a dead body is with reference to the person who washes it. The Shattāris believed that mere implicit obedience to the commands of the Shaikh was not enough. A murid should, remarks shaikh Abdullah in his Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah, annihilate his individuality in the person of the Shaikh. He writes:

مرید صادق را باید که فنا فی الشیخ حاصل کند چون فنا فی الشیخ
حاصل کرده باشد از برکت آن فنا فی الله نیز حاصل شود در
جمله احوال و اعمال و اقوال و افعال ظاهراً و باطناً ترک اعتراض بر شیخ
بکند و اگر چیزی و سواش در خاطر مزاحمت دهد که این قول یا این
فعل شیخ بر مطابق شرع نیست تاویل کند ا

"A sincere disciple should annihilate his personality in the person of the Shaikh. When this is achieved, through its blessings annihilation in Allah is also attained. In all circumstances and in all deeds,

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1. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) ff.8,9. It has been followed by the following works. Madin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f.65; Makhzan-ud-Dawāt, (MS.) ff. 247,248; Risalah-i-Tasawwuf (MS.) p.59; Asnad-i-Ashghal-i-Shattariyah (MS.) f.5.

and overt and covert acts; one should abstain externally and internally from criticism of the Shaikh. If anything creates doubt in his mind that some word or deed of the Shaikh does not conform to the Shariat he should find some excuse and explanation for it."

This concept of Fana Fil Shaikh was propounded by the Shattari saints with such vehemence and so great emphasis that it became one of the cardinal principles of the Shattari mystic discipline in India. The Naqshbandi concept of Tasawwur-i-Shaikh (Visualizing the Shaikh in meditation) did not come up to the Shattari ideals in this respect.

This concept of Fana fil-Shaikh considerably enhanced the position of the Shattari pirs who were never tired of repeating such remark as: "A day in the company of a spiritual teacher is better than forty days of arduous penances." "A teacher can make his disciple attain gnosis in a moment."¹ The saying that "One who has no Shaikh to guide him, is guided by the devil," was rejected by Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya as a fabricated ahadith² but the Shattaris fondly circulated such fantastic concepts,³ as genuine traditions of the Prophet.

1. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah, (MS.) f.15.

2. Fayaid-ul-Ruad, p. 175.

3. Manahil-us-Shattar (MS.) f. 76b.

Nabuwat (Prophethood) and Walayat (Sainthood):

One of the most bitterly criticised concepts of the Shattāris was their view that Nabuwat (Prophethood) and Walayat (Sainthood) are identical. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth has particularly elaborated this theme in his Mairāi Nāmāh.

While recording his spiritual experiences, he has claimed to have passed through the same experience which the Prophet had in Mairāj. He says that when he was on his upward march he stayed at a place to perform ablutions. There he found the four caliphs, but did not speak to them. He then proceeded further and met the angels who had books in their hands. When he reached the 'Arsh, he found the Prophet Muhammad waiting for him.¹ While the Shattāri saints accepted this version of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth as a matter of faith, the Ulamā subjected the silsilah to severe criticism on this account.

Khilāfat:

Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar is reported to have remarked: "^AKhalifah should possess three things : Knowledge, Wisdom and Cosmic emotion."² The Shattāri saints fully tested

1. See Mairāi-Nāmāh, (MS.) ff. 107, 109, 111-116.

2. Life and Times of ^{Shaikh} Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, p. 93.

a disciple's capabilities before they entrusted to him the responsibility of looking after the spirⁱitual affairs of other people and enrolling disciples.¹ They particularly emphasised learning as an essential qualification for the grant of Khilāfat.

The Makhzan-u'd-Dāwat says that there were two types of Khirqahs which the Shattāri ^{saints} conferred on their disciples Khirqah-i-Talibus and the Khirqah-i-Khilāfat.²

The Shattāri mystics did not approve of the practice of placing minors on the Sajjadah of saints.³ In this respect they differed from many of their contemporary saints who, guided by the desire to perpetuate succession in their only families, assigned important spiritual responsibilities to minors.

They further condemned those sons of the deceased Shaikhs who did not receive any spiritual training during the life time of their fathers but, instead of joining the dis-

1. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f.7; Maadin-ul-Asrar, (MS.) f.13; Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f.9; Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f.11; Lubb-ud-Da'ayiq, (MS.); Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhan, (MS.); Malfuz-i-Rukn-ud-din Shattari, (MS.) p.23; Manahil-us-Shattar, (MS.) f.14.

2. No Shattāri work has explained these terms. It is therefore difficult to say anything about their real connotation and significance.

3. Makhzan-ud-dawat, (MS.) ff. 243, 244.

cipline of some, continued penances at the graves of their ancestors without the guidance of any living pir.¹

Condemning such saints the author of Ganj-i-Arshadi says : "Had it been possible to attain anything without a living spiritual teacher, and learn the mystic path from the dead saints, all would have concentrated on the tomb of the Prophet."²

Method of Initiation to the Shattari fold:

The medieval muslim mystics had developed particular methods of initiating or admitting people to their mystic fold. The author of Misbah-ul-Hidayah has discussed in detail the generally accepted practices of the Muslim mystics in this respect. The Siyar-ul-Auliya gives details of the method of initiation followed by the early Chishti saints of India. The Shattaris followed the same methods but with the following modifications and additions. Before admitting a person to their mystic fold the Shattari saints usually recommended fasts for three days, technically known as the Tayy³ fasts. They had

1. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.); Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhan, (MS.).

2. Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.).

3. Literally Tayy (v.n of طوي) means fasting voluntarily. In mystic parlance it means fasting for three days in such a way that nothing is taken at the iftar time except three or four drops of water.

Ghiyath-ul-Lughat p. 277.

set apart three days in a week — Wednesday, Thursday and Friday — for this purpose. Immediately after initiation a disciple was expected to devote his time to dhikr (ذکر) and muraqabah (مراقبه). It was believed that through these methods a disciple's heart could be cleared off of all worldly desires and material distractions.¹

Uzlat (Seclusion) and Suhbat (Company):

The Shattāri saints maintained a balance between seclusion and company, apparently two contradictory approaches towards an individual's spiritual education. They discouraged isolationistic tendencies and advised their disciples to live in human society and work amongst the people.² But the fact remains that every Shattāri saint had spent some of his time in complete isolation from human company. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth himself spent more than a decade in the mountains of

1. Maadin-ul-Asrār, (MS.) f.37; Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān (MS.); Malfuz-i-Rukn-ud-din Shattari, (MS.) p.19; Manahil us-Shattar (MS.) f.54.

2. Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f.9; Risālah-i-Shaikh Hamid (MS.) f.4; Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-ud-din (MS.) f.11; Kashf-ul-Haqayiq, (MS.) f.7; Lubb-ud-Da'ayiq, (MS.) f.9; Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhan, (MS.) f.21; Malfuz-i-Rukn-ud-din Shattari, (MS.) p.13.

Vindhyachal.¹ In fact some of the important Shattari penances could be practiced in seclusion alone and so isolation for sometime at least was absolutely essential. Some later saints however realised that any encouragement to the tendency of seclusion was bound to destroy the organization of the silsilah. Therefore they saw to it that a disciple did not spend more time in seclusion than was absolutely necessary.

بعد از ترک تعلقات ظاهر جمعیت باطن حاصل نشود خشنودی حق سبحانه
عالی در ترک او نیست²

"Internal integration cannot be achieved by severing relations with the external world. God's pleasure cannot be in abandoning (worldly contacts)."

Itineracy:

The Shattari saints laid great emphasis on itineracy on account of its great educative value.³ An itinerant mystic came into contact with men of different temperaments and different backgrounds. This gave him an insight into human

1. Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f.267; Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh, (MS.) f.18; Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh Vol. III p.4; Gulzar-i-Abrār, (R.G.) f.188; Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani (MS.) p. 300.

2. Thearat-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f.11.

3. Lataif-i-Ghaibiyāh, (MS.) f.3; Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq; (MS.) f.7.

character. Besides it had a solitary effect in eliminating all worldly desires and ambitions from his heart. The possessive instinct of man, which the mystics considered to be the greatest hindrance in spiritual development, was controlled through extensive travels. The founder of the Shattari silsilah in India established these traditions of extensive travels. His successors respected them and, though only a few had an opportunity to go out of the country, within the country itself they frequently roamed. Even Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth could not or did not settle down at one place like Shaikh Farid or Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. It may, however, be noted that in later years the considerations which motivated frequent change of centres by the Shattari saints were not purely mystical. Political, cultural and other considerations also played a part¹.

Moral Teachings ,

Islamic mysticism, properly understood, was a movement for the moral culture of humanity. The Shattari saints were very keen on creating a healthy moral atmosphere. Their malfuzats are full of moral precepts and exhortations.² They

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1. Shaikh Abdullah Shattari, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Shaikh Manjhan and Shaikh Iad Alias, Shaikh Wadud changed their centres on purely political grounds. For details see pp. 8,50,90,101,106.
 2. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.); Kashf-ul-Haqayiq, (MS.) Lubb-ud-Daqayiq (MS.); Thamrat-ut-Hayat, (MS.); Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhan (MS.); Malfuz-i-Rukn-ud-din Shattari, (MS.).

ceaselessly strove to create a society free from all dissensions and discriminations. Their cordial relations with the Hindus had a moral basis. They were opposed to any discrimination on any basis in human society.

They divided wrongs into two categories:

- A. Wrongs against God.
- B. Wrongs against man.

Wrongs against God ——— i.e. neglect in the performance of obligatory religious practices — could be forgiven by God if man repented for them.¹ But wrongs against man could not be forgiven by God. One had to satisfy and obtain pardon from the persons against whom some wrong was done.²

Amongst their moral teachings the Shattāris laid the greatest emphasis on honest means of livelihood.³ Nothing was more injurious to one's moral and spiritual well-being than earning livelihood through doubtful or deceitful means. They recommended trade or cultivation as the best means of earning

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1. Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattār (MS.) f.3; Makhzan-ud-dāwat, (MS.) f.249; Manāḥij-us-Shattar, (MS.) f.39.
 2. Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattār, (MS.) f.3; Makhzan-ud-dāwat, (MS.) f. 249.
 3. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-ud-din, (MS.) ff.6,9; Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq, (MS.) f.7; Lubb-ud-Daḡāyiq, (MS.); Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.) 9,11,17.

livelihood. Though the institution of futuh (unasked for charity) operated in the Shattāri Khānqahs, parasitic tendencies were sternly checked by them. Those who did not earn their bread with the sweat of the brow were looked down upon.¹ "One should live earn his bread and remember Allah," was their constant advice. Shaikh Burhān is reported to have remarked:

تجارت و بیع ایشانرا مانع ذکر حق نباشد²

(Trade and transactions are no obstructions in remembering Allah.)

Like the Chishtis the Shattāris also believed in non-violence and pacifism. They rejected revenge and retribution as laws of the animal world and asked their disciples *kind even to those who did wrong to them. By returning wrong with good* to be good and *alone* healthy conditions could be created in human society. Violence was condemned both in thought and action.³

They had firm faith in the equality of all men. They received with cordial hospitality people belonging to different religions. They disliked looking down upon sinners even.

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1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f.11; Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.) f.14.
 2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).
 3. Maadin-ul-Asrār, (MS.) f.22; Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.) f.8; Lubb-ud-Dagayiq, (MS.); Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.) f.13.

"Hate the sin and not the sinner" was their principle.

The Shattāri saints were zealous fighters against illiteracy. They used to say that education was necessary even for the purification of the innerself.¹ It was on this account that many of the Shattāri saints had madrasahs attached with their Khānqahs.

Nobility, according to Shattāris, was not based on birth but on noble deeds. Children, they used to advise, should be brought up with the greatest care because early training determined their character.²

Discussing the rights of parents over their grown up children they said that even if they abjured Islām one should obey their orders. "If one's father ask's him to bring pork, he should obey him. If he is ordered to cook it, he should not hesitate to prepare a dish. If, however, he is asked to partake of it also, he would be justified in disobeying the orders of his parents."³

The Shattāris talked frequently about the value of time and warned their disciples against idle talk or leisurely engagements.⁴

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1. Maadin-ul-Asrār, (MS.) f.39; Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.); Thamrat-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f.8a,b.
 2. Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.) Vol. I p. 29.
 3. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).
 4. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).

They exhorted their disciples to pay zakāt to the needy people and distribute free food. "Giving food to one hungry person was better than observing a dozen fasts," they used to say.¹

The Shattāris did not encourage people to go on Hājj if they did not possess the means to undertake the journey.²

1. Ganj-i-Arshadi, (MS.) Vol. I p. 41.

2. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān (MS.).

CHAPTER XI

TEACHINGS AND PRACTICES OF THE SHATTĀRI SILSILAH

(i) Impact of Indian Thought

In the evolution of their mystic thought and practices, the shattāris were very deeply influenced by Indian religious traditions and institutions. The first Shattāri saint who established contact with the Hindus and studied their religious thought was Muhammad A'la Qadin.[✓] During his stay at Vaishali he came into contact with the Yogis¹ and learnt from them the value of penances and physical mortification in the development of spiritual personality. The need of controlling the calls of flesh has, nodoubt, been emphasised by all Muslim mystics but the extent to which Hindu mystics have focussed their attention on self mortification and penance as a pre-requisite to the attainment of gnosis, has no parallel in Islāmic mysticism. It was this aspect of Hindu mysticism which attracted Muhammad Alā Qadin and he performed many rigorous penitences.² His example inspired his successors and they turned more and more to Hindu Yogis and mystics for

1. Maadin-ul-Asrār (MS.) f. 36.

2. Maadin-ul-Asrār (MS.) f. 36; Malfuzai-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) pp. 68, 69.

guidance and inspiration. Shaikh Hadiatullah and his disciple, Hāji Hamid, spent considerable time in the company of Hindu Yogis and often exchanged views on fundamental problems of religion and mysticism, like soul, God and the universe.¹ Shaikh Bahlul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth developed this tradition further. They stayed for a long time in the lonely recesses of Vindhychal and performed many Hindu practices under the supervision of Hindu mystics.² The Jawāhar-i-Khamsah, which Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth compiled after his spiritual experiences of Vindhychal, reveals the extent to which Hindu religious thought and practices had influenced him. He was probably the first Indo-Muslim saint who attempted a synthesis of the Hindu and the Muslim mystic thoughts. Infact he occupies an intermediate place between Alberuni and Dārā Shikoh. His Jawāhar-i-Khamsah introduced Hindu mystic practices and litanies into the Muslim mystic discipline, while his translation of Amrit Kund into Persian familiarized the Muslim mystics with some of the important categories of Hindu mystic thought.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth recommended the following Hindu mystic practices to his disciples:

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1. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) p. 65.
 2. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) f. 3.

(i) Dhikr Hans:- One who desired to practise it was directed to have his head and back on the same level, one shank on the other, the ankle of his left foot in the close of the right thigh and the ankle of the right foot at the end of the left thigh. He had to start contemplation by twisting both the hands with each other. Further he had to utter the word 'Han' while drawing his breath out and to utter the word Soo while taking the breath in.

(ii) Dhikr Alkah:- One who desired to practise this, was asked to sit on his hams, close the fist of his left hand, put it on the right thigh, and the elbow of the right hand on the left fist. Then closing the fist of his right hand he had to put it under his chin. He had to contract the muscles of both the buttocks by pressing them together and drawing the breath from the navel.¹

(iii) Dhikr Kahakteh:- One who desired to practise it, was asked to seat himself in Karanba Asān. It could be done by putting^{the} head, feet and hands together, and sitting on the left foot keeping the soles of the feet under the buttocks, leaving the right thigh standing, joining the fingers of the left foot with the ankle of the right, and keeping both the

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt (MS.) f. 28.

hands on the left thigh. Then one had to extend the right thigh to the left saying "Hei, Hei,". He was forbidden against bending his head while performing this dhikr. Other instructions were to make the shoulder blades a little curved and then straighten them so hard as to have an effect on the veins of the neck. Both the lips had to be kept separate and the teeth fixed. Breathing had to be regulated.

(iv) Dhikr Naranjan:- One who desired to practise it was advised to sit in "Gurbā Asin" which was as follows. The left foot was to be put on the right, and the buttocks on the two feet, the head had to be in the level of the legs between the two thighs, and both the elbows were to be fixed on the ends of both the thighs, and the hands were to be put on the ears. Then the breath was revolved in the belly.¹

(v) Dhikr Chagnī:- One who desired to practise this had to sit with his thighs joined together, keeping one hand on the other, making the buttocks hard and rotating his eyes in all the six sides.

(vi) Dhikr Niboli:- One who desired to practise this had to sit cross-legged, putting both the hands on both the thighs

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 29.

and putting the head and back in the same level.

(vii) Dhikr Gorkhi:- One who desired to do this dhikr had to practise Bram Asin in the following way:- join the soles of both the feet, put both the heels under the testicles, make the hands twisted on the back, make the head a little curved and give the body a little movement. The tongue had to be joined with the teeth after drawing the breath. The breath was exhaled forcefully through the nose.

(viii) Dhikr Acojen:- One who desired to practise it had to sit in Sidh Asin, making the buttocks meet together. He had then to draw breath and broaden his lungs.¹

(ix) Dhikr Anhad Sabad:- One who desired to do it was directed to sit on the hams and keep both the buttocks on the soles of his feet. Both the hands had to be put on the ears in a way that both the fore fingers remained in the ears, the thumbs behind the ears and the three fingers unclosed near the ear. One who could not keep his hand on the ear was asked to chew peppers and keep cotton in his ears.

(x) Dhikr Nasbad:- One who wanted to practise it was asked to sit cross legged, with his head and his back in the

1. Bahr-ul-Hayat, (MS.) f. 30.

same level, bringing both the hands nearer and joining the thumbs. Both the elbows had to be kept on the belly under the navel.¹

(xi) Dhikr Sitaly:- One who wished to practise it, was directed to observe Kanwal Asān: putting the buttocks on the earth, the back of the right hand on the left thigh. One hand had to be put on the other, and then placed on the thighs under the navel. Both the lips had to be kept open. The back of the left foot remained on the right thigh. Teeth had to be kept fixed and breath was drawn through the gaps in the teeth. As the practice developed, breath was drawn and released through the nose and the ears and the eyes.

(xii) Dhikr Bhunkan:- Who ever desired to practise this had to sit on hams, keeping his mouth closed. He had to draw breath through his nose and carry the breath under the navel. From the navel he had to take it forcefully to his brain and then release it slowly so that it reaches under the navel. Breathing through the mouth or the nose was forbidden.

(xiii) Dhikr Borka:- One who wanted to practise this had to sit in the usual way and swing the body a little. He had to breathe through the nose.

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt (MS.) f. 30.

(xiv) Dhikr Tarawat:- One who wanted to do this had to sit cross - legged, putting the fingers of one hand in his other hand and then putting his hands on the shank. When the breath reached near his throat he had to make his breathing a little hard. The nose had to be tightly held with the thumb and fingers.¹

(xv) Dhikr Kanjari:- One who wanted to practise it was directed to close the hole of his throat in this way: First he had to take some pepper and salt and then chew it for six months. Then catching hold his tongue with the hands he had to draw it out in order to increase its length. No clothes could be used while practising this and chewing betel leaves, cutting the nails of the fore fingers and thumbs was forbidden. Later two veins under the tongue ——— one black and the other red, had to be gradually injured^r with the help of these nails. He had to draw back his tongue into the throat so that the whole tongue came into the hole of the throat and stopped the breath from getting in. While drawing the tongue to the throat, one had to bend bones of his jaws. Then he had to sit in Sidh Asan in a way that the buttocks be kept on the earth. The back of the right foot was placed on the sole of the left foot, joining the shank with the thigh; the heel of the left foot was put under the testicles, and both the hands up side down on both the thighs.²

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 31.

2. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 32.

(xvi) Dhikr Malicā:- One who desired to busy himself in this act had to get up early in the morning before dawn perform ablution and sit with his face towards the East. Then he had to turn his eyes towards the sky and look on the sky with open eyes. After this he had to rotate his eyes.

(xvii) Dhikr Kahunba:- One who desired to practise it had to open his eyes widely, unite the tongue with the jaws, and let the breath come out gradually through the nose.

(xviii) Dhikr Bahan Asān:- One who wanted to practise this had to put the right foot with its shank on the left thigh and the left foot with its shank on the right thigh.

(xix) Dhikr Gigr Asān:- One who desired to practise it had to sit cross legged, putting the right hand on the back near the right shoulder blade, and the left arm towards the left shoulder-blade. He had to keep his lips firm and fixed, move the head in four directions.¹

(xx) Dhikr Tehnisa Asān:- One who desired to practise it had to sit cross-legged and make himself suspended on his hands putting them between the two shanks.

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 33.

(xxi) Dhikr Bajr Asān:- One who wanted to practise it had to sit cross-legged and bow on the ground putting both the hands between both the thighs and shanks. Then he had to put the hands on his neck in a way that the fingers of the two hands got united on the neck.

(xxii) Dhikr San Asān:- One who desired to practise this had, first of all to close the fist of both hands, then put them on earth and became suspended on them. Then putting the fingers of the left foot and that of right foot on the left elbow, he had to busy himself in contemplation.¹

Another very great influence on Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was that of Tantrism. He had so deeply imbibed its traditions. that he may be said to have laid the foundations of what one may call the Shattāri Tantrism.² Shaikh Burhān once told his audience:

شیخ محمد غوث در علم تنتر شائستہ و عسوزات مہارت تمام داشتند^۳

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt (MS.) f. 34.

2. For Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism see Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics, Vol.II p. 134, Vol.IV p.840, Vol.VII p. 211, Vol. VIII, p. 257.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth compiled the following books on the pattern of Tantrism: Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.); Mairaj Namah, (MS.) Kalid-i-Makhzan (MS.); Bahr-ul-Hayāt (MS.).

3. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhān, (MS.).

(Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was perfect in Tantrism and in the science of writing amulets.)

Tantra is derived from the root Tan which means to expand, Tantra would, therefore, mean all-comprehensive knowledge or expansion of knowledge, an appreciation of the fact that external objects about us are the outcome of some conscious force within. The material universe is the play of a conscious energy expressing itself in various modes of manifestations.¹

Tantrism was, however a kind of degraded Yoga which, with the aid of mental concentration, muttered prayers, spells and other magical expedients, sought to secure all kinds of material advantages and supernatural powers.²

In the 15th century Tantrism, though in a degenerated form, was much popular in India and the Muslims too were considerably under its influence. Shaikh Bahlul came into the contact of the Tantrics during his visit to north Bihār particularly Saran, Hajipur and Vaishali where there lived many Buddhist Tantrics. Under their influence he adopted many

1. Tantras : Their Philosophy And Occult Secrets p. 22.

2. Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics, Vol. VII p. 211.

of their practices and developed interest in astrology, incantation etc. On his return to Gwalior he taught these Tantric practices to his brother, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. His book Jawāhar-i-Khamsah which occupies a central position in the Shattāri mystic ideology is different from all other works produced by the Muslim mystics of India. It does not interpret Tasawwuf in terms of higher ethics or social service. It interprets it in terms of miracles, talismans, litanies and supernatural performances. The roots of this attitude cannot be traced to any earlier Muslim mystic of India. It derives its inspiration from the Tantric philosophy. He remarks:

"All those who want to learn strange and rare sciences like geomancy, arithmetic, astrology, biology, astronomy, nature of trees, chirping of birds, the art of making amulets, should practise this."¹

A few practices of this type as prescribed by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth may be mentioned here by way of illustration:

- (1) In order to discover a thief and trace the stolen property one should light a new candle, put some flowers near it and ask some virgin to sit in front of it. After writing

1. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) f. 81a.

four names ——— Biktanus, Fadil Shāh, Muhammad Shāh and Maimun Zangi ميمون زنگي on a piece of paper some sugar should be put on it and the girl should be asked to swallow them. The thief would present himself with the stolen property as soon as this is done.¹

(2) Any one who desires to conquer jupiter should recite the names of Allāh six thousand times for five days. On the fifth day an old man wearing some green or white garment, will appear. The old man will respectfully ask the reason for calling him. The 'amil should say in reply: "I want you to become my friend and help me to achieve the happiness of both the worlds." Jupiter will then reply: "Only love and affection for you has brought me here. I am at your beck and call." Jupiter will then move ahead and put his hand with great affection on the head of the Amil and will say: "Whenever you want me, call me. I will come."

(3) By chanting certain names of Allāh, one can control heavenly bodies. Each star and heavenly body has some power to do or undo human work.

1. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) f. 105.

Another very notable Shattāri saint who learnt Tantric practices was Muhammad Sarani. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth writes about him:

ایشان در ولایت کامروپ خود رفته چند سال تحصیل و تحقیق این علم بواجب کرده بودند¹

("He personally visited Kamrup and spent some years in learning and making investigations about this science").

Now, the shattāri Tantrism was more akin to Buddhist Tantrism than the Hindu Tantrism. (i) The Hindu Tantrics gave great prominence to female energy in their spiritual concepts the Buddhists did not consider it of such importance and so also the shattāris. (ii) The Buddhist Tantrics attach great significance to Sutras the mere reading of which, they say, effaces the effect of sin². The Shattāri Tantrics likewise attached great importance to Qurānic verses and said that mere repetition of its verses could efface the effects of sin³. (iii) The Buddhist Tantrics attached great spiritual significance to the sacred names (e.g., the name of Amitabha⁴); likewise the shattāri Tantrics recommended Nawādh-wa-nuhnam⁵

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 26.

2. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII p. 257.

3. See Jawāhar-i-Khamsah, (MS.).

4. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII p. 257; See also Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.).

5. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah, (MS.) ff. 17b, 18a; Munis-udh-dhakirin p. 154.

(ninety nine names of Allah). (iv) The Buddhist Tantrics sometimes replaced or strengthened the name by 'prayer wheel'.¹ Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth too introduced دائره² (circle) and نقش³ (figure) to achieve supernatural objects.

The emphasis which Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth laid on the spiritual efficacy and incantational power of reciting the names of God (دعوت اسماء) is nothing but a continuation of Tantric attitude in Islam.⁴

The Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh reveals Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth more as a Tantric Yogi than as a Muslim mystic. It is difficult to swallow the miracle stories narrated by him. Stories about contact with the dead, visits to the ethereal world and many miracles wrought in space and time, fill this book.⁵

The process of assimilating the Hindu religious thought, particularly Tantric practices, reached its highest water mark

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1. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII p. 257.
 2. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) ff.229b, 282a,b, 283a.
 3. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.) ff.27a, 35a, 82a, 121a.
 4. See Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.). Shaikh Bahlul too was keenly interested in occult practices and exorcism Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh Vol. III p. 4. Iqbal Nāmāh, Vol.I p. 149.
 5. Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh (MS.).

under Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Later Shattāri saints followed it; they did not add to it.

Considered as a whole the Shattāri mystics borrowed the following features of their thought and practices from the Tantrics:

1. An insatiable desire to develop occult powers.¹
2. Faith in the control of supernatural forces and bringing about changes through them.
3. Mysterious incantational value of divine names.
4. Spiritual efficacy of Asāns.² (method of sitting).
5. Emphasis on the development of spiritual personality through physical mortification.³

Having borrowed so many basic ideas from the Hindu religious thought the shattāris could not possibly pursue any rigid or fanatic policy towards the Hindus. Their attitude towards conversion comes very near the attitude of the chishtis. They had no proselytizing ambitions and were always prepared to give lessons in mysticism to Hindus without demanding formal conversion to Islam. Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court, was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad

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1. See the compilations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.
 2. Vide Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (MS.); Bahr-ul-Hayat, (MS.).
 3. Jawāhar-i-Khamsah, (MS.).

Ghauth¹ and his conversion to Islam is not reported in any work. Yogis used to visit Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din and learn Shattāri practices from him.² Shāh Daulat had cordial relations with the Hindus. Rājāh Mān Singh is depicted in a portrait as receiving a pot from Shāh Daulat.³ Mansingh had respect for another Shattāri saint, Shāh Tāj.⁴ A Hindu, Tarachand, is mentioned as a frequent visitor to the Khānqah of Shaikh Mohi-ud-din.⁵ Jamun Brahmin was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid.⁶ Ranji Rām Bengali lived in the company of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din and adopted many Shattāri practices.⁷

The structure of Shattāri thought in this respect was built on the basic idea that the names of God had tremendous effect whether uttered in Arabic or in Hindi. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth has tried to establish the uniformity of connotation in the various terms uttered by the Yogis and the sufis. He considered Hom to be identical with رب (Yā rab) or الله

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1. Bādshāh Nāmāh, Vol. II part I p.7.
 2. Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (MS.) f.4.
 3. Biyād-i-Khas of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri (MS.).
 4. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) p. 38.
 5. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) p. 37.
 6. Ganj-i-Rashidi (MS.) Vol. II p. 40.
 7. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din Shattāri (MS.) p. 36.

(Ya Hafiz) of the Musalmans.¹

Ideology apart, the Shattaris maintained cordial relations with the Hindus at the social level. Mulla Badaoni, who was fanatic in his religious out look, was particularly perturbed at the respect shown by Shaikh Muhammad Chauth to his Hindu visitors.² His interest in bulls and cows was also probably due to his contact with the Hindus.³

1. Bahr-ul-Hayāt, (MS.) f. 30.

2. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 64.

3. Akbar Nāmah Vol. II p. 68.

CHAPTER XII

RESUME AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding pages the history of the Shattāri silsilah has been traced from the middle of the 15th to the close of the 18th century. Biographies of all its important saints have been carefully constructed in the light of the reliable contemporary records. The teachings of the silsilah have also been analysed in the light of the Malfuzāt, Awrad, epistolary collections and other compilations of the Shattāri saints. The extent of the Shattāri influence has been traced in Bihār, Gujarāt, Deccan and other places.¹ Two questions have now to be answered:

- (i) What is the place of the Shattāri silsilah in the history of the Indo-Muslim mysticism?
- (ii) What contribution did the silsilah make to Indian culture and civilisation?

The Shattāri silsilah was established in India after the Chishti and before the Naqshbandi order and as a matter of fact its contribution to Indo-Muslim mysticism can be assessed only with reference to these two silsilahs. It supplements the Chishti and contradicts the Naqshbandi order.

1. Vide Chapters I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.

Broadly speaking there have been two categories of Muslim religious movements in India: Movements which laid greater emphasis on the spirit rather than the letter of the law and interpreted mysticism in terms of human service and emphasised the essential unity of all religions. The other type of movements emphasised the letter of the law and interpreted higher religion in terms of theological and orthodox controversies. The first type of movement drew inspiration from Ibn-i-Arabi¹ and others of his school of thought; the later derived their inspiration from Ibn-i-Taimiya² and his followers.

The Shattāris were believers in pantheistic philosophy. Their predecessors—the Chishtis and the Suhrwardis — were also believers in pantheism. But the Shattāris played a more significant role in the exposition of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud than the Chishtis or the Suhrwardis. The Naqshbandi opposition to the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud was, in certain respects, a reaction to the Shattāri emphasis on it.

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1. Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Ali Muhi-u'd-din was born on the 17th Ramadan 560 A.H./28th July 1165 at Murcia. He visited Seville, Ceuta, Tunis, Mecca, Baghdad, Aleppo, Mosul, Asia Minor and ultimately settled in Damascus where he died in Rabi II 638 A.H./Octo. 1240 A.D. He has propounded the ideas of pantheistic monism in his works Fusus-ul-Hikam and Futuhāt al Makkiya. These books have been popular studies of medieval Muslim mystics.

See The Mystics of Islam, London 1914; The Mystical Philosophy of Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-Arabi Cambridge 1939; Encyclopaedia of Islam pp. 146-147.

2. He was born on Monday 10th Rabi I 661/22 January 1263 at Harran, but his father later migrated to Damascus where he studied muslim sciences with the renowned local theologians, Zain al-Din Ahmad and Najm al-Din. Though he was considered an authority of Hanbali Law, he rejected taglid and even ijma (consensus). He was a bitter critic of sufism and all the institutions and practices of the medieval sufis. Encyclopaedia of Islam, pp. 151, 152.

The Shattāris stood for a catholic, liberal and cosmopolitan interpretation of religion. They believed in synthesising the elements of various cults and creeds. The way in which the Shattāri saints assimilated and adapted the Tantric practices to Indo-Muslim mystic thought is a very significant contribution to Indian religious history.¹ Dārā Shikoh was a product of the mental climate which had been created by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. The Bahr-ul-Hayāt is a precursor of the Majma-ul-Bahrain.²

The Naqshbandi silsilah checked the development of those tendencies which had been released by the Shattāri saints. It is no doubt true that the thaumaturgical elements introduced by the Shattāri saints could not possibly stand the criticism of

1. See Chapter IX.

2. Majma'-ul-Bahrain (the Mingling of the two oceans) was compiled by Dārā Shikoh in 1065 A.H./1654 AD. The work deals with Elements ('Anasir), senses (Hawass), Devotional Exercises (Ashghal), Attributes of God (Sifat-i-Allah Ta'ala), Soul (Ruh), Air (Bad) Four worlds ('Awālim-i-Araba'a), Sound (Awaz), Light (Nur), Vision of God (Ruyat), the Names of God (Asma-i-Allah) Apostleship and saintship (Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat), Barhmand, Directions (Jihāt), Skies (Asmanha) Earth (Zamin), Divisions of the Earth (Kismat-i-Zamin), World of Barzakh (Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection), Resurrection (Qiyamat), Mukht (Salvation), Day and Night (Ruz wa shab), infinity of the cycles. Like Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, the author of this work Dārā Shikoh too was deeply under the influence of the Hindu Yogis. The Siyār-ul-Mutakhhirin on p. 403 says that this work irritated the Mullahs who passed fatwā of Kufr against him. The work has been Edited and Translated by Mahfuz-ul-Haq and Printed in the Baptist Mission Press in 1929 A.D. at Calcutta.

the orthodox school but the synthesis which the Shattāri silsilah sought to bring about between the Hindu and the Muslim mystic practices is a notable contribution of the Shattāris to Indian religious history.¹

The Shattāri contribution to Indian culture cannot be over emphasised. The Shattāri silsilah appeared on the Indian social scene at a very significant moment of Indian history. At a time when the Bhakti saints and philosophers, like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitaniya, Namadeva, Pipa, Sen and others, were propagating ideas of human love, devotion to God, rejection of caste and ecclesiastical formalism, the Shattāri saints also threw their weight in this direction and accelerated the pace of syncretic movements.

In the purely social sphere the contribution of the Shattāris was very important. Two very significant directions in which they made some contribution were their efforts to abolish ^{slavery} and to improve the lot of women. The Jami-ul-Fiqāh of Pir Muhammad Shattāri is a very significant work from this point of view. He has trenchantly criticised the practice of marrying with slave girls and has defined at length the rights of women and has protested against giving women subservient position to men.² The Shattāri saints protested against slave trade also.³ They considered it inhuman and believed in the

1. See Chapter IX.

2. Jami-ul-Fiqāh, (MS.), ff. 23, 24.

3. Jami-ul-Fiqāh, (MS.), ff. 22, 23, 24.

equality of all men. Shaikh Burhān looked down upon distinctions based on birth. "Nobility is not by birth but by piety," he used to say.¹

Another very significant aspect of the Shattāri contribution to Indian culture was their anxiety to eradicate illiteracy. It may be pointed out that no mystic order in India took such keen interest in education and made it an integral part of their discipline as the Shattāris did. Every important Shattāri saint had a madrasah attached with his khānqah.²

The Shattāris did not generally encourage dependence on ṭutuh (unasked for charity) "Work is Worship" they used to say and preferred to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow rather than live on public charity.

Most of the Shattāri saints did not believe in the Day of Judgement and in heaven and hell. They considered hell and heaven to be merely states of spiritual experience which a man experienced after his death. But they showed the utmost regard to the Prophet Muhammad and taught his traditions to their adherents with a view to improving their morals.

1. Malfuzat, (MS.), by 'Ilmullah Kamal.

2. e.g. Shaikh Manjhan, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi, Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh Kamāl Muhammad Abbasi, Mir Sayyid Latifullah, Shaikh Yusuf Bengali, Shaikh Muhammad Faḡlullah, Qadi Jalal-u'd-din Multani, Shaikh Isā, Shaikh Muhammad Raḡhid, Shaikh Arshad.

Since the Shattaris came into contact with all sorts of people, some medium for the exchange of ideas had to be evolved. Their contribution towards the evolution of local dialects is, therefore, very great. We find large number of Hindivi sentences in the Shattari mystic records.¹ Thus the contribution of the Shattaris towards the liquidation of ideological, linguistic and social barriers between the various culture — groups and religious communities in India is their most significant contribution to Indian culture.

Another unique feature of the Shattari silsilah is that it was probably the only silsilah which spread to other Muslim lands from India. The Naqshbandi silsilah also went out, but then it had come from out side and was not of Indian origin. The Shattari silsilah was Indian in origin, — its pre-Indian history is not known, obviously because it had none — and it went to other Muslim countries from India. Shaikh Haji Hamid, Qadi Jalāluddin Multani, Shaikh Sabghatullah, and Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari lived in Arabia for many years and introduced the silsilah in Hejaz.² Shaikh Ibrahim Nuri perpetrated it in the Middle East.³ Besides, the silsilah had a number of followers in Turkey⁴ and Indonesia.⁵

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, (MS.); Marthiāh, (MS.) in the Library of the Khanqah-i-Shaikh Burhan.

2. See pp. 86-88.

3. See pp. 82-85.

4. The Encyclopaedia of Islam on p.339 says that the Shattariyah silsilah was included in the long list of 161 silsilahs prepared by the Imperial Board of Derwishes at constantinople and furnished to S.Anderson.

5. Tarikh-i-Tamaddun-i-Indonesia, Vol. I p.260.

A P P E N D I X A

SOURCES OF STUDY

The present work is based mainly on original Persian sources which can broadly be classified into the following categories:

1. General works on the Shattāri mystic ideology and practices.
2. Biographical works
3. Malfuzāt of the Shattāri saints, and
4. Political chronicles.

The utilization of mystic sources for reconstructing historical accounts is a task fraught with many difficulties. Very often the devotees fabricated works in order to establish their claims and sometimes with sincere motives to popularize a saint. I have made a careful attempt to separate the chaff from the grain and base my conclusions on authentic records. What is a writer's source of information? Is he merely recording hearsay or had he any direct or indirect contact with the events he has recorded? To which social, religious or political 'group' he belonged? What is his personal attitude towards the different problems of religion and politics? What was his purpose in compiling his work? All these questions were put before material was drawn from any mystic record of the period.

- A. General works on the Shattāri : The Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah
mystic ideology and practices. :
_____ of Shaikh Abdullah

Shattāri is a very valuable and authentic source of information for the history of the Shattāri silsilah. In this concise brochure the author has propounded Shattāri mystic principles and has given brief account of his travels in the Middle Eastern countries. Shaikh Abdullah Shattāri dedicated this work to the ruler of Mandu.

The Shaikh has referred to three mystic ways (Mashrabs) — Mashrab-i-Akhyar, Mashrab-i-Abrār and Mashrab-i-Shattar and has tried to establish the superiority of the Shattāri discipline over all other mystic attitudes. It may be pointed out that he has not explained the other two Mashrabs as he has explained his own. His comparison, therefore, is subjective and is not based on concrete facts. Here in this book the founder of the Shattāri silsilah has laid the foundation of the cult of saints by emphasizing the necessity of having faith in a saint, otherwise one became Murtad-i-Tariqat (Heretic in Tariqat) in the same way as one disregarded any Prophet became Kafir-i-Shariat (Heretic in Shariat). The Shaikh's discussions about the method of initiation, tauba, dhikr, fanā fil Shaikh etc., are interesting. Manuscripts of this work were discovered in the private collection of Sayyid Ajaz Husain at Kiliar (dated 989 A.H./1581 A.D.) and the Khānqah library at Maner (dated 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. I have consulted the Maner Manuscript.

Maadin-ul-Asrar was compiled by Shaikh Muhammad Ala qadin, a disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Abdullah Shattari. The author mentioned frequently refers to Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah of Shaikh Abdullah Shattari as his chief source of knowledge. But, apart from what he has culled from that work, there are interesting details about many Shattari institutions and practices. The work, however, is not an original contribution. The ideas of Shaikh Abdullah have been elaborated by him and presented in a more cogent manner. He laid great emphasis on taubah (Repentence) and considered tairid (celibacy) as the first requisite for mystic progress. He has recommended some services of the Khanqah — drawing of water, cleaning and sweeping etc. as essential for every new entrant to the Shattari fold. The accounts of his visit to Mandu are vivid and interesting and throws considerable light on his relations with Shaikh Abdullah Shattari. An autographed manuscript is preserved in the Khanqah library of Maner. I have used it. Manuscripts are also found in the Khanqah library of Shaikh Burhan at Burhanpur and the private collection of Sayyid Ajaz Husain of Kaliar. The Burhanpur manuscript was transcribed in 1009 A.H./1600 A.D.

Awrad-i-Qadin Shattar is a collection of Ashghals and Adhkars of the various mystic orders prepared by Muhammad Ala qadin for the guidance of his son Shaikh Hadiatullah. An autographed manuscript is preserved in the private collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khan at Bihar. Another manuscript, dated 970 A.H./1562 A.D., is in the possession of the Khadims of the

dargah of Shaikh Hadiyatullah at Hājipur. The Bihār manuscript has been used.

Risālah-i-qadin Shattār is a small brochure comprising ten folios. It was compiled by Shaikh Muhammad Ala qadin who has given some biographical account of Shaikh Abdullah Shattāri also. It was compiled in 890 A.H./1485 A.D. Manuscript of this work is preserved in the library of the Khānqah at Maner.

Maktubat-i-qadin Shattār is a collection of letters addressed by Shaikh Muhammad Ala qadin (Ob. 901 A.H./1495 A.D.) to his elder disciples. These letters deal mostly with pantheistic monism. The only available manuscript, which is both incomplete and in bad condition, is preserved in the Khānqah library at Maner.

Risālah-i-Shaikh Hamid is an interesting brochure of twenty seven folios. Its compiler Shaikh Zahur Hamid was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ala qadin. He prepared this work for the guidance of his disciples. It is not an scholarly work and deals with ordinary mystic teachings. Manuscripts of this work are found in the private collection of Sayyid Ajāz Husain at Kaliar, Khānqah of Islāmpur (dated 1640 A.D.) and in the private collection of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān at Bihār (dated 1703 A.D.) I have consulted the Kaliar manuscript.

Jawāhar-i-Khamsah was compiled by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth during his prolonged stay at Chunar and contains the teachings

of Shaikh Zahur Hamid. It was given the title Jawāhar-i-Khamsah (the five jewels) because it contains five sections as follows:

1. On the worship of God.
2. On the ascetic life.
3. On exorcism
4. On the recital of hymns.
5. On the practices of those who have attained gnosis.

This work does not deal so much with the mystic ideology as with the mystic practices. Its real value lies in its practical character. It has been treated through the centuries as a dastur by the Shattāris. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library at Bankipur (N. 1384), private collection of Sayyid Ghulām Hasnain at Phulwāri, Khānqah of Maner, private collection of Sayyid A'jaz Husain at Kallar, Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta (uncat.) private collection of Shāh Idd-u'd-din Phulwāri, Ghangin Academy at Gwālior, India Office Library (NS. 1875, 1876) Cambridge University Library (N. 120a), Muslim University Library at Aligarh, (Habib Ganj 21/114). A reliable manuscript dated 990 A.H./1582 A.D. is found in the private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar at Machlishahir. The work was translated in Urdu by Mir Hasan Ridvi and published in 1294 A.H./1877 A.D. at Hydrābād. The printed text is defective and unreliable. I have used the Bankipur manuscript.

The other important works of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth are Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah, Mairāi Nāmah, Kalid-i-Makhzan and Bahr-ut-Hayāt. These works reveal the influence of Tantric philosophy on Shattāri thought.

Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah deals with super-natural incidents. It seems that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth compiled it on the pattern of the tales of the Tantrics. It reveals Shaikh Ghauth more as a magician than as a mystic or scholar. Manuscripts of this work are found in Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta (N.1252), private collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khan at Bihār (dated 1083 A.H./1677 A.D.) and in the library of Khanqah-i-Hadrat Mun'am Pak at Patna. I have consulted the Bihār manuscript.

Mairāi Nāmah was compiled by the Shaikh during his stay in Gujarāt. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi criticised it and issued a fatwā against him. At this critical moment Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi supported Shaikh Ghauth. In this treatise Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth has tried to establish his spiritual superiority on many sufis and even prophets. It was on account of such assertions that his relations with Bairam Khan deteriorated and he had to retire to Gwālior. Manuscripts of this work are found in Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta (N. 1252) and in the private collection of Nawab Ahmad Hasan Khan of Bihār. I have consulted Bihār manuscript.

Kalid-i-Makhzan is another important work of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth which deals with supernatural incidents and

reveals the extent of Tantric influence on the Shaikh. Manuscripts of this work are found in the two private collections: the private collection of Nawab Najm-u'd-din at Bihar and the private collection of Maulvi Ayaz Ali of Rewa. I have used the Bihar manuscript.

Bahr-ul-Hayat is the most important work of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Based on a Sanskrit work Amrit Kund, it looks like an original contribution since the author has woven Tantric ideas into the texture of Islamic mysticism by explaining them in the terminology of Tasawwuf. Since the original Sanskrit work is not available, it is difficult to make a comparative study of the original with the Persian translation but the treatment and the exposition of the subject is such that if the fact that the original work was in Sanskrit is ignored, it would be difficult to consider it a work of Hindu mysticism. Only a scholar thoroughly conversant with higher Hindu and Muslim religious thought could have attempted such a task. Manuscripts of this work are found in the library of the Khānqāh-i-Mujibiyah at Phulwari (dated 1022 A.H./1613 A.D.); the Asafiya Library at Hyderabad (N.607). It has also been printed (Ridvi Press, Delhi, 1311 A.H./1893 A.D.) but I found the printed text vague and in exact at many points and hence I have referred to its Manuscript copy preserved at Phulwari.

Kanz-ul-Wasilin is another less known work of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Like other compilations of the saint this work also is soaked in Tantricism. Manuscripts of this work were discovered in the private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar at Machlishahar and private collection of Sayyid Ajāz Husain at Kaliar. I have used the Machlishahar manuscript.

Awrad-i-Sufiya was compiled by Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri in 954 A.H./1547 A.D. The author of the work was an outstanding Khalifah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and was a distinguished scholar of his age. For ten years he lived in the Khānqah of Shaikh Ghauth who gave Khilafatnamahs only to those persons who were recommended by him. It deals with mystic practices (Ashghals, Adhkars, ward-wa-nawāfil) of the Shattāri silsilah. Manuscript of this work is available in the Oriental Khudā Baksh Public Library Bankipur (dated 1183 A.H./1769 A.D.) (uncat.).

Sharah-i-Risalah-i-kinz-ul-Isrār-fi-hal-Ashghal-i-Shattār. This risalah deals with the practices of the Shattāriyah silsilah. It was compiled by Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri in 957 A.H./1550 A.D. A copy of this work is preserved in the private collection of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān at Bihār.

Sharah-i-Risalah-i-Ghauthiyah is a commentary on the Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri compiled it in 953 A.H./1546 A.D. for the guidance

of his students. Its only manuscript was discovered in the library of Dār-ul-Uloom, Nadwā at Lucknow.

Isrār-ud-Dawāt was compiled in 957 A.H./1550 A.D. by Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri. It deals with the practices of the Shattāri silsilah. Manuscript of this work is found in the Khānqah library at Maner.

Anis-ul-Musafrin is a small brochure dealing with mystic practices which Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri compiled in 955 A.H./1548 A.D. for his pupils. Manuscript copy of this work is found in the private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar at Machlishahar.

Sirāj-us-Salikin is another work from Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri. It was compiled in 1005 A.H./1596 A.D. Besides Shattāri teachings it contains biographical accounts of some Shattāri saints. An incomplete manuscript is preserved in the library of Dār-ul-Uloom Nadwā at Lucknow.

Ashghal-i-Shattār is another small risalah containing an account of the practices of the Shattāri silsilah compiled by Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri. Manuscript copy of this work is found in the private collection of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān at Bihār.

Risalah-i-Sufiyā is another short brochure compiled by Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri. It deals with two topics only: taubā (Repentance) and Dhikr (contemplation). A copy of this work is available in the library of the Khānqah at Kākori.

Sharah-i-Nuzhat-ul-Arwah is a commentary on Nuzhat-ul-Arwah, compiled by Shaikh Wali Muhammad Shattari (Ob. 987 A.H./1579 A.D.) a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Nuzhat-ul-Arwah was compiled by Sayyid Husain a disciple of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Dhakariyya. This commentary interprets Sayyid Husain's thought in terms of Wahdat-ul-Wujud and is couched in extremely difficult language. Manuscript of this work is preserved in the private collection of Muhammad Ali at Maner.

This
Sharah-i-Nuzhat-ul-Arwah is another commentary on the famous Nuzhat-ul-Arwah by Shaikh Ali (Ob. 970 A.H./1562 A.D.), a Khalifah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. A Manuscript (dated 1032 A.H./1622 A.D.) of this work is found in the private collection of Aziz Qalandar at Jaunpur.

Ainah-i-Haq Numah-Sharah-i-Jam-i-Jahan Numah. It was compiled by Shaikh Ibrahim in 991 A.H./1583 A.D. The Jam-i-Jahan Numah is the work of Muhammad bin 'Idg-u'd-din and was written in 785 A.H./1383 A.D. It contains very interesting exposition of pantheistic philosophy and was, therefore a popular work amongst the Shattaris. Shaikh Ibrahim, a Khalifah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth wrote this commentary in view of its significance for the Shattaris in 991 A.H./1583 A.D. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Rada State Library at Rampur.

The Risalah-i-Shattariyah was compiled by Shaikh Baha-u'd-din (Ob. 921 A.H./1515 A.D.). Shaikh Baha-u'd-din originally

belonged to the Qadiriyyah Silsilah, but had later learnt the Shattāri practices from Shaikh Buddhan, a popular contemporary saint of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (1489 - 1517). The author has discussed the mystic value of seclusion, repentance, and resignation to the will of God. It is divided into four fasls (sections):

1. On the Mystic path
2. On Dhikr
3. On Muraqabah
4. On various Shattāri practices in Arabic, Persian, and Hindvi languages

Manuscripts of this work are found in the Khānqah library at Kakori, (dated 986 A.H./1578 A.D.), in the private collection of Muhammad Ali at Maner (dated 962 A.H./1554 A.D.), Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (MS. 434, 1303). Bodleian Library (N.1771) and the India Office Library (dated 13th of Shabān, 1117 A.H./30 November. 1704 A.D., N.1913). I have used the Kakori manuscript.

Risalah-dar-Ma'ni-i-Haroor is a treatise which was compiled by Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi. It deals with the practices of the Shattāri silsilah. It runs into 28 folios. Manuscript, of this work is found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (*Uncat.*) and the Khānqah of Chunar.

Sharah-i-Jam-i-Jahān Numāh. After joining the shattāri silsilah Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi wrote a commentary on Jam-i-Jahān Numāh. It is soaked in the philosophy of pantheistic monism. An Autographed manuscript is preserved in the private collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh at Ahmadābād. Other manuscripts may be seen at Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 1299) and the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library at Bankipur (N.1578). *I have used ^{the} Calcutta manuscript.*

Sharah-i-Kalid-i-Makhzan. After joining the circle of the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi wrote a commentary on Kalid-i-Makhzan. Manuscripts were discovered in the private collections of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadābād and Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishāhīr. *I have consulted the Machlishahar manuscript.*

Risalah-i-Maslah-i-Takfir is a small brochure comprising twenty pages and deals with the problem of apostacy. Since the Shattāris were subjected to severe criticism by the orthodox ^{or} theologians Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi considered it necessary to discuss in detail the problem of apostacy. He has held that no punishment can be given to mystics who utter some unorthodox words ⁱⁿ a state of spiritual intoxication. The author has finally justified the sayings of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the private collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh at Ahmadābād.

Hāshiyah-bar-Ishārat-i-Gharibiyah. Ishārat-i-Gharibiyah was written by Abdul Karim Hanbali and deals with general problems of religion and ethics. Shaikh Isā wrote marginal

notes on it and recommended it to his pupils and disciples. The only manuscript of this work is found in the library of the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur.

Tafsir-ul-Anwār-ul-Isrār (Arabic). It is a commentary on the Qurān prepared by Shaikh Isā (Ob. 1031 A.H./1621 A.D.). The author interpreted Qurānic verses in the light of pantheistic theories. Autographed manuscript is preserved in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, at Burhānpur.

Ain-ul-M'ani is one of the most important works of Shaikh Isa (compiled in 989 A.H./1581 A.D.). It deals with Shattāri practices and contains also commentary on ninety nine names of Allah. Since the Shattāris had great faith in the incantational significance of the names of Allah, this work was very popular amongst the Shattāris. Manuscripts are found in the Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (N.1386) Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 1259). I have used the Bankipur manuscript.

Sharah Jouhar-i-Som-az-Jawāhar-i-Khamsah is a commentary on the third chapter of Jawāhar-i-Khamsah. It was compiled by Abdun Nabi Uthmāni Shattāri in 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. Manuscript dated 1038 A.H./1667 A.D. is discovered in the private collection of Navāb Najm-u'd-din of Bihār. Another manuscript is also available in Asafiya Library, Hyderābād - Deccan (N.185). I have consulted the Bihār manuscript.

Makhzan-i-Jawāhar-ul-Isrār was compiled by Imād-u'd-din Muhammad Arif bin Abdun Nabi Uthmāni in circa 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. It gives spiritual descent of Shaikh Abdullah Shattāri from Shaikh Bāyazīd Bistāmi downwards. Manuscript is found in the Rada State Library, Rampur (uncat.).

Sharah-i-Amantubillah is a short brochure compiled by Shaikh Burhān (Ob. 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.) in which the meaning of "faith" have been explained. It is a small but interesting risalah because Shaikh Burhān did not approve of some of the popular ideas about the religious position of a pir. Manuscripts are found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N.1276) Asafiya Library, Hyderabad Deccan, (N.156) Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (Uncat.). I have used the Bankipur manuscript.

Wasiyat Namah is a small brochure. It comprises fourteen folios and was compiled by Shaikh Burhān (Ob. 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.). It reveals Shaikh Burhān as a staunch believer in the theory of Mahdat-ul-Muind. Autographed manuscript is found in Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur. An incomplete manuscript is also found in Muslim University Library, Aligarh. I have used the Burhānpur manuscript.

Usul-ul-Muhāsini was compiled by Jaffar Muhammad in 1095 A.H./1683 A.D. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Burhān (Ob. 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.). Shaikh Burhān had handed over his disciples to Qadi for punishing them as they had uttered unor-

thodox words about their spiritual mentor. This work upholds the point of view of Shaikh Burhān. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (Uncat.).

Adab-udh-dhikr is another small treatise from the pen of Jāffar Muhammad completed in 1097 A.H./1686 A.D. It deals with the Shattāri practices. A manuscript of this work is found in the Asiatic Society Library of Calcutta (N.1280).

Asnād-i-Ashghāl-i-Shattāriyah was compiled by Jāffar Muhammad in 1075 A.H./1665 A.D. It deals with the Shattāri practices. An autographed manuscript is preserved in the Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta (N. 438). An undated manuscript is found in the National Library at Calcutta. I have consulted the Asiatic manuscript.

Jami-ul-Figh. This is one of the most important works dealing with the Shattāri ideology. It was written in 1050 A.H./1640 A.D. by Pir Muhammad Shattāri. The author being a disciple of Shaikh Burhān had sound knowledge of the teachings of the shattāri silsilah. He has presented these teachings systematically. Manuscripts of this work are found in the private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishahir (dated 1125 A.H./1713 A.D.), the Muslim University Library, Aligarh, and the Fort, library, Rewa (Uncat.). I have used the Machlishahir manuscript.

Besar Namah is a collection of the verses of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. A manuscript of this work is found in the State Library, Dholpur (dated 1063 A.H./1652 A.D.).

Munis-udh-dhakirin was compiled by Shaikh Allah Bakhsh of Garhmuktesar. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Mubarak Baladast a Khalifah of Sayyid Ali qawam. It deals with the significance of Dhikr (constantly repeating the names of Allah), in Suluk (the mystic path). The significance of the names of God has also been discussed from the Shattari point of view. It also contains some autobiographical references. It was published in January 1888 A.D. in the Society Press, Bareilly.

Majmaah-i-Shirajāt is a anonymous work written in 1099 A.H./1687 A.D. It contains Shirās (spiritual tables) of the Shattari sufis. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, and ^{in the} private collection of Maulvi Ayaz 'Ali, at Rewa (dated 1167 A.H./1753 A.D.). I have used the Azamgarh manuscript.

The Makhzan-ud-dawat was written by Shaikh Ismail Farhi in 1041 A.H./1631 A.D. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Isa and had spent considerable part of his life in the service of the Shaikh. It also deals with Shattari practices, method of initiation and duties of a murid.

Manuscripts of this work are found in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh, Ahsan 297.7/13, Khanqah Library

Islāmpur (dated 1085 A.H./1674 A.D.). Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 437). and the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad Deccan (N.189). I have used the Aligarh manuscript.

Risālah-i-Wajih-ullah is a small treatise compiled by a disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. The author has neither mentioned his name nor the date of compilation. On the basis of the internal evidence it can be said that this brochure was written in the life time of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob.998 A.H./1589 A.D.). A manuscript of this work is found in the Asiatic Society Library, at Calcutta (N. 1351).

Khwas-i-Nawadh-wa-Nuh-Nam was compiled by Shaikh Fateh Muhammad while he was learning mystic practices from his father Shaikh Isā. This work shows Shaikh Fateh Muhammad's faith in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. His later compilations, however, are of a different type as he became a Naqshbandi subsequently and developed faith in the theory of Wahdat-us-Shahud. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (Uncat.) and the University Library of Lucknow. I have used the Calcutta manuscript.

Manahij-us-shattār was compiled by Imām-u'd-din Rājiri in 1115 A.H./1703 A.D. He was a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din. This book deals with the teachings of the Shattāri silsilah and contains brief account of the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Ala Qadin. A manuscript (dated 1145 A.H./1732 A.D.) is preserved in the Khānqah Library at Maner. Another copy is in the private collection of Nawāb Shāh Ali Shattāri of Islāmpur. I have used the Islāmpur manuscript.

Amrad-i-Imām-u'd-dīn. This is another compilation of Imām-u'd-dīn Rājgirī (Ob. 1130 A.H./1717 A.D.). It was prepared for the use of his disciples and contains practices of the Shattāri silsilah. An Autographed manuscript is found in the Khānqah library of Islāmpur.

Ashghāl-i-Shattāriyah was compiled by Abdul Ghafoor in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn. The work contains Shattāri practices. Manuscripts are found in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, (dated 1180 A.H./1766 A.D.) (Uncat.) the National Library, Calcutta (dated 1230 A.H./1814 A.D.) and the Khānqah library of Maner. I have used the Asiatic manuscript.

(b) Biographical Works:

Risālah-i-Ibrāhīmī. This booklet was compiled by Shaikh Ibrāhīm in 999 A.H./1590 A.D. It comprises biographies of the early medieval Sufis. It also contains biographical notices of Shaikh Abdullah Shattāri and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth Gwāliori. A manuscript of this work is found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library at Bankipur (Uncat.)

Akhbār-ul-Akhyār. This biographical dictionary of Indo-Muslim saints was compiled by Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq (Ob. 1052 A.H./1642 A.D.) a well-known muhaddith of the Mughal period. He has carefully applied the critique of evidence (احتمال اسناد)

to his study of the lives of the sufis. The Shaikh's account of the Shattāri saints is very useful and informative as his own uncle, Maulānā Rizqullah Mushtaqi was associated with the Shattāri silsilah. It has been lithographed several times in India. I have used the edition of Muhammad Mirzā Khān printed at Delhi in 1283 A.H.

Akhbar-ul-Asfiyah. It is a valuable work on the lives of the sufis and was completed in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. The author, Abdus Samad bin Afdal Muhammad, was a nephew of Afzal Fadl, the famous historian of Akbar. Manuscripts of this work are preserved in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, (N. 668) Peshawar (dated 1089 A.H./1678 A.D.), and the India Office library (dated 1098-9 A.H./1686-7 A.D., N.641). I have used the manuscript preserved in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library.

Gulzar-i-Abrar. This is one of the most important biographical works on the Shattāri saints. It was compiled between 1014 - 1022 A.H./1605-1613 A.D. by Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi shattāri who was a disciple of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Dhakir. The author travelled widely in western and central parts of India in order to collection material for this book. The author was a great scholar and mystic of his period. He had contacts with many important scholars, historians and mystics of the period. He was a friend of Shaikh Abdul Haqq. Muhaddith and Nizām-u'd-din Ahmad Bakhshi. His association with the

shattari silsilah placed him in an advantageous position and he collected all possible data about the lives of the Shattari saints. His style, however, is ornate and laboured, full of similies and metaphors.

Persian text of this work has not been published so far. Manuscripts are available in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (dated 1155 A.H./1742 A.D., N. 259), Rada State Library, Rampur, Muslim University Library, Aligarh (Habib Ganj 22/5), India Office Library. I have used the rotograph of manuscript in the India Office Library.

Safinat-ul-Auliya. It was compiled by Dara Shikoh in 1049 A.H./1639 A.D. and contains biographies of sufis early and later. It provides information about some Shattari sufis also. It was printed in the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow in 1872 A.D.

Majalis-ul-Ushshaq. It was compiled by Sultan Husain bin Sultan Mansur (Ob. 11th of Zilhijjah 911 A.H./1505 A.D.).

It contains biographical account of seventy six mystics who flourished from the second century of the Hijrah down to the author's time. It provides valuable information about

Shaikh Arif and Shaikh Abdullah. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (N. 663), British Museum (N. Or.208), India Office Library (N. 1870), Bodleian Library (N. 1271), Cambridge University Library (N. 1140 (p)). I have used the Manuscript preserved in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library.

Tabaqat-i-Shāh Jahānī is a valuable work. It was compiled in about 1046 A.H./1636 A.D. by Muhammad Sadiq Khān during the reign of Shāh Jahān. It contains biographies of Sufis, poets, ulama and Hakims, who flourished from the beginning of Timur's reign down to the reign of the emperor Shāhjahān. It is divided into ten tabakat (every one containing three babs), viz:

Tabakah I : Famous men in Timur's reign (770-807 A.H./1369-1406 A.D.)

Tabakah II : Famous men, who lived under Mirzā Mirān Shāh and died under Sultān Shāhrukh (807-850 A.H./1406-1447 A.D.).

Tabakah III : Famous men under Sultān Muhammad bin Mirzā Mirānshāh and Mirzā Ulugh beg bin Shāhrukh (850-853 A.H./1447-1449 A.D.).

Tabakah IV : Famous men, who lived and died under Sultan Abu Said Gurgan (854-873 A.H./1460-1469 A.D.).

Tabakah V : Famous men, who lived and died under Mirza Umar Shaikh Bahādur son of Sultān Abu Said Gurgan (873-899 A.H./1469-1494 A.D.).

- Tabakah VI : Famous men under Babur.
Tabakah VII : Famous men under Humayun.
Tabakah VIII : Famous men under Akbar.
Tabakah IX : Famous men under Jahāngir.
Tabakah X : Famous men under Shāhjahan, from 1037-
1046 A.H./1627-1636 A.D.

Manuscripts of this work are preserved in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh (Habib Ganj 22/46), British Museum (N.1009), and the India Office Library (N.705). I have used the manuscript in the Muslim University Library.

Mirāt-ul-Asrar is a valuable biographical work on the Indo-Muslim saints compiled in 1065 A.H./1654 A.D. The author, 'Abdur Rahmān belonged to the chishti silsilah. In each of the twenty three Tabaqat into which the biographical notices are arranged, recognised head of the chishtis takes the lead, followed by accounts of the contemporary Shaikhs of the same or other orders. It contains, biographical data about the following Shattari saints. Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh qadin and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Manuscripts of this work are in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (dated 1088 A.H./1677 A.D., N. 264), Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (dated 1220 A.H./1805 A.D., N. 676), British Museum (N. Or 216), National Library, Calcutta (Buhar N. 89). I have used the manuscript in Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta.

Kalimat-us-Sādiqin. It comprises biographical account of saints who lie buried at Delhi. In the preface the author calls himself Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani. He seems to be identical with the author of the Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahāni. It contains account of Shaikh Rizqullah. Manuscript of this work is found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (N.671).

Ma'arifi-ul-Wilāyat. It is a detailed encyclopaedia of Indo-Muslim saints. It was compiled by Ghulam Moin-u'd-din who maintained friendly relations with Shaikh Muhammad Rashid and other Shattāri saints. A very valuable manuscript of this work is in possession of Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmi. It was completed in 1094 A.H./1682 A.D. and covers about two thousand pages. Its accounts are detailed and within certain limits very critical. What increases its value most is the fact that the author has given extensive extracts from the writings of the saints and scholars discussed by him.

Manba-ul-Ansāb. It contains genealogical accounts of the Sayyids of ^kBhakh^r, the prophets, the Imāms and their descendants the four Pirs and the fourteen Khānwādahs, together with an explanation of the doctrines and practices of the sufis. It was compiled by Sayyid Muinul-Eaqq bin Shihāb-ul-haqq in circa 898 A.H./1492 A.D. Shaikh Abdullah Shattāri has been referred to in this work. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur (N.2069) Dar-ul-Uloom, Nadwa dated 15th Zilhijjah 1293 A.H./1876 A.D, British Museum (N.Or 226). I have used the Bankipur manuscript.

Mahfil-i-Asfiyā-Majma-ul-Auliya was compiled by Ali Akbar Husaini Ardastani in 1043 A.H./1633 A.D. This work contains fairly detailed biographies of the Shattari sufis. The author was a contemporary of Shaikh Isa Burhanpuri and was closely in touch with the Shattari saints. A manuscript of this work (dated 1142 A.H./1729 A.D.) is found in the Rada State Library, Rampur. I have used this manuscript.

Riyad-ul-Auliya. It was compiled in 1090 A.H./1679 A.D. The name of the author does not appear in the work. It deals with the caliphs, Imams and early Muslim saints and also gives biographies of Indian sufis. Rizqullah Mushtaqi is also referred to by the author. A manuscript of this work is found in the Private collection of Ghulam Ali at Ajmer. (See also Rieu 111 975a (1851 A.D.), Asafiyah Library i p.320, N.115, Browne Suppt. 728 (Corpus 126). I have used the Ajmer manuscript.

Risalah-i-Halat-i-Qalandariyah was compiled by Asad-Ullah Khan in circa 996 A.H./1587 A.D. and contains biographies of the sufis of qalandari silsilah. It furnishes useful information about the popularity of Shaikh Abdullah at Jaunpur. An incomplete manuscript is available at Rampur, Rada state Library.

Karamat-i-Auliya. It is a collection of the biographies of the sufis from the earliest period of the mystic movement to

the compiler's time, the 17th century. The author, Nizām-ud-din Ahmad bin Muhammad Salih composed this work in 1068 A.H./1657 A.D. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 265), British Museum (N. or 1721). I have used the Society manuscript.

Khizanah-i-'amriyah. This work of Ghulām Ali Azād Bilgrāmi contains biographical account of poets and some contemporary nobles and incidentally throws light on some of the Shattāri saints also. It was compiled in 1176 A.H./1762 A.D. The work has been published by Newal Kishore, from Lucknow in 1871 A.D.

Subhat-al-marjan-fi-athar-i-Hindustan was compiled by Ghulām Ali Azad Bilgrami in 1177 A.H./1763 A.D. It is divided into four chapters which deal with references to India in the shadith literature and biographies of scholars, poets and saints of India. It was published in 1303 A.H./1886 A.D. at Bombay. A part of the work has also been translated into Urdu and published under the title Mazhar-i-Adam by the Newal Kishore Press Lucknow in 1870 A.D.

Maathir al-Kiram is another biographical work from the pen of Ghulām Ali Azād Bilgrāmi who was a disciple of Sayyid Latifullah. The work was completed in 1166 A.H./1752 A.D. and is divided into two fasls. — One deals with the biographies of the sufis of Bilgrām and its neighbourhood; the second fasil contains the account of the learned men of the period. The

book is helpful in reconstructing the biographies of the shattari sufis of the eighteenth century. It has been published.

Tadhkirah-i-ulama-i-Hind was compiled by Rahman Ali bin Hakim Ghar Ali and contains biographies of scholars and sufis of medieval and modern India. The work was published from Lucknow in 1894 A.D.

Haul-ul-Maqsud is a history of the qalandari saints with special regard to the sufis of Jaunpur and Awadh. The author, Shah Turab Ali bin Muhammad Kasim completed his book in 1226 A.H./1811 A.D. The work furnishes information about Shaikh Abdullah shattari's visit to Jaunpur and its suburbs. It has been printed. As the published work is defective I have used the manuscript (dated 1312 A.H./1894 A.D.) in Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta.

Bahr-i-Zakikhar is a comprehensive work on Muslim saints. It was compiled by Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Sufi in Circa 1727 A.D. The author consulted large number of biographies of the early Muslim saints in order to compile this work. It contains accounts of the following Shattari saints. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Diullah, Shaikh Swaleh Hafiz, Sayyid Husain, Shaikh Shams-u'd-din, Shaikh 'Ali, Sayyid Taj-u'd-din, Shaikh Sadr u'd-din Dhakir, Shaikh Abdul Latif, Shaikh Muhammad Hai, Shaikh Miyaji bin Daud, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din

Alavi, Shaikh Abdullah bin Wajih-u'd-din, Shaikh Kamāl Muhammad Abbasi, Shaikh Muhammad Fadlullah, Hakim Uthmān, Shaikh Muhammad Arif, Shaikh Ibrahim qadī Shattārī, Shaikh Murtudā, Shaikh Isā. Manuscripts are found in the private collection of Maulvi Fasih-u'd-din, Jaunpur, Barood Wali Khānqah, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, Taksalwālī Khānqah, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, Khānqah, Kakori. I have used the Kakori manuscript.

Khazinat-ul-Asfiya was compiled by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar in 1290 A.H./1873 A.D. It contains biographies of the latter Shattāris also. The author has not shown any critical faculty in preparing biographical accounts of the medieval saints. As a book of reference it has a utility of its own. It was published in Thamar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow in 1872 A.D.

Zubdat-ul-Magamat deals with the life, miracles and spiritual teachings of Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi, and of his spiritual teacher Khwajah Muhammad Baqi Billah. It was compiled by Khwajah Muhammad Hashim Badakhshāni in 1037 A.H./1627 A.D. The author had once visited the Khānqah of Shaikh Isā and met his descendants. Whose account he has given in this work. It has been published in Mahmud Press, Lucknow in 1302 A.H./1884 A.D. but I have consulted the manuscript preserved in Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur N.6728.

(d) Malfuzāt

Malfuz writing is one of the most important literary

inventions of medieval India. The historical value of this type of mystic literature cannot be over-emphasised. Through these records of conversations we can have a glimpse of the medieval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection — the moods and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners and above all the problems of the people. There is no other type of literature through which we can feel the pulse of the medieval public. In constructing this history of the Shattāri silsilah I have drawn considerable material from the malfuz literature of the Shattāri saints.

The following mystic conversations have been used in this work:

1. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Walih-u'd-din
2. Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq
3. Iubb-ud-Daqāyiq
4. Thamrat-ul-Hayāt
5. Malfuzāt collected by Ilm-ullah-kamāl.
6. Malfuzāt collected by Muhammad Yusuf
7. Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān
8. Gnāi-i-Rashidi
9. Malfuz-i-Rukn-u'd-din shattāri.
10. Gani-i-Arshadi
11. Gani-i-Faiyādi

Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. The compiler, Shaikh Bahādur, was not an expert malfuz-writer. He has put together facts in an unsystematic and disorderly manner, but the work is extremely valuable on account of the information it contains. As Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din did not permit his disciples to live in attendance on him, Shaikh Bahādur could not collect large material for his work. This malfuz is, therefore, very short. Manuscripts of this malfuz are found in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh (Habib Ganj 21/221), in the private collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadābād, and the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (N. 1343). I have used the Aligarh manuscript.

Kashf-ul-Hacayiq is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh 'Isa Burhānpuri collected by Ismā'il Farhī ibn Mahmūd Sindhi. The father of the compiler was closely associated with the uncle of Shaikh Isā and lived in his neighbourhood. Ismā'il Farhī himself had joined the discipline of Shaikh Isā at a very early age and lived in his company for twenty years. He collected these conversations of Shaikh Isā from 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. to 1031 A.H./1621 A.D. This work tells us a lot about the Shattāri discipline and their Khānqah life. Manuscripts of this work are available in the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur, and the private collection of Imdād Ali at Ajmer. I have used the Ajmer manuscript.

Guftār-i-Shaikh Isā contains the sayings of Shaikh Isā. It was compiled after the death of the Shaikh in 1037 A.H./1627

A.D. by his disciple who ^{his name} has not mentioned. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (dated 1091 A.H./1680 A.D.) (N.462) and the Rada state Library, Rampur (Uncat.). I have used the Calcutta manuscript.

The Lubb-ud-Da'ayiq contains conversations of Shaikh Burhān, collected by Muhammad Yusuf Burhānpuri. The compiler's father was a disciple of the uncle of Shaikh Isā and lived with him. Muhammad Yusuf too had joined the circle of the disciples of Shaikh Tahir. On the death of his spiritual teacher Muhammad Yusuf lived in the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān and collected his sayings. The arrangement of the book is, however, arbitrary. There is no chronological order in the narrative. The work supplies valuable information about the life and thought of Shaikh Burhān. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur, and Khānqah-i-Rashidiyah, at Jaunpur. But both these manuscripts are badly damaged. I have used the Jaunpur manuscript.

Thaqrat-ul-Hayāt is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Burhān. Ali Askari alias Aqil Khān Raqi who was a disciple of Shaikh Burhān collected these discourses in 1053 A.H./1643 A.D. This work provides valuable information about the life of Shaikh Burhān. When Mir 'Ali Askari joined the service of Aurangzeb, he discontinued this work. Manuscripts of this work are found in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (MS. 448, 1278) Muslim

University Library, Aligarh, (Habib Ganj 21/134, 21/135, 21/206), India Office Library (N. 1896). I have consulted the Aligarh manuscript.

Malfuzat of Shaikh Burhān compiled by Ilm-ullah-kamal. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Tahir who was uncle of Shaikh Isā and lived in his Khānqah. When his teacher died, he went to the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān to complete his studies and collected his discourses. He gives detailed information about the Khānqah life of the Shattāris and the relations of Shaikh Burhān with the people. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur.

Malfuzat of Shaikh Burhān, compiled by Muhammad Yusuf. The compiler was a disciple of Shaikh Burhān and was in the company of his Shaikh for some time. This work was discovered in a rotten condition at the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān in Burhānpur.

Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Burhān, another valuable collection of the conversations of Shaikh Burhān, compiled by Salim Ullah, a disciple of Shaikh Burhān. A part of this work has survived and is available at the Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur.

Gani-i-Rashidi is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid Jaunpuri, a disciple of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri. It contains conversations during the period from 1072 A.H./1661 A.D. to 1083 A.H./1672 A.D. Musrat Jamāl Khān

Multāni collected these sayings. He was a disciple of the Shaikh and lived with him. The compiler does not seem to be familiar with the art of writing malfuz. He has piled up information without any sequence or order. Loose sheets of this malfuz in hand of the compiler ^{are} preserved in the library of the Khānqah.

Two more Malfuz were discovered in the library of the Khānqah of SHaikh Muhammad Rashid at Jaunpur. Both of them are small and incomplete. One of them comprises twelve folios and is ascribed to Qadi Modood Jaunpuri who was a disciple of the Shaikh. It was collected between 1074 A.H./1663 A.D. and 1075 A.H./1664 A.D. The other Malfuz which comprises ten folios was collected in 1073 A.H./1662 A.D. by Shaikh Ghulam Muhi-u'd-din Bhandari.

Malfuz-i-Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Shattari was collected by his disciple Pir Imām-u'd-din Rajgiri. It contains conversations of the saint during the period from 1104 A.H./1692 A.D. to 1117 A.H./1705 A.D. Being a trained scholar of the Islāmic traditions, he has carefully collected the sayings of his spiritual teacher in chronological order. A manuscript copy of this work was discovered in the private collection of Nawāb Shāh Ali of Islāmpur.

Arshad and was collected by Shaikh
Gani-i-Arshadi. This is a malfuz of Shaikh Shukrullah. It provides detailed information about the life of Shaikh Arshad and contains biographical notices of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid and

other Shattāri saints. This work does not contain any dates. There is no systematic presentation of facts. But the work has great importance for constructing the biography of Shaikh Arshad. A manuscript of this malfuz was discovered in the library of the Khānqah of Shaikh Rashid at Jaumpur. An incomplete manuscript is available in the Muslim University Library at Aligarh (Subh N.19).

Gani-i-Faiyādi is a collection of the sayings of Qamar-ul-Haqq. It was compiled in 1147 A.H./1734 A.D. by his disciple Shaikh Ghulam Sharf u'd-din. It contains biographical notices of Shaikh Arshad.

Manuscripts of this work are available in the library of the Khānqah of Shaikh Rashid at Jaumpur. (For other MSS. see Browne Pers. Cat. III; Ivanow Curzon N.80).

b. Political Chronicles

Bābur Nāmah. The memoirs of Bābur throw extremely valuable light on the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Bābur. I have used Mrs. Beveridge's translation based on the Turkish original.

Humāyun Nāmah, compiled by Gulbadan Begam, a daughter of Bābur by his wife Dildār Begam and consequently a half-sister of Humāyun. Being a real sister of Hindal her sympathies were with him when he revolted. Her account of Shaikh Bahlul is partial and prejudiced. The text of Humāyun Nāmah has been

edited with English translation by Mrs. Beveridge.

Tadhkirat-ul-Wāqiyāt was compiled by Jauher Aftabchi in 995 A.H./1586 A.D. The author was attached to Humāyūn and has, therefore, provided extremely valuable information about Shaikh Bahlul's relations with Humāyūn. (MS. in British Museum, RG. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh).

Akbar Nāmāh. It throws valuable light on Shaṭṭārī saints and their relations with the Mughal Emperors. Abul Fadl has described Akbar's visit to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwalior. As I have discussed earlier Abul Fadl was unsympathetic towards Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Bahlul. The work was published by Munshi Newal Kishore Kanpur (1298 A.H./1881 A.D.).

Tabaqat-i-Akbari. The Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Nizāmuddin Ahmad Bakshi throws some light on the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Akbar.

It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and printed in the Baptist Mission Press Calcutta in 1927 A.D.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh. The author of the work Abdul qadir Badāoni was a contemporary of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Diaullah. He had once seen Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Agra while he was passing through a street. He had also visited Shaikh Diaullah whose disciples had harassed him. Due to his orthodox religious views he was unsympathetic towards the Shaṭṭārīs. His accounts of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh

Diāullāh are, however, detailed and critical. The work was edited by Maulvi Ahmad Ali and was printed at the college Press Calcutta 1868.

Ain-i-Akbari. Though the author has described Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's relations with Akbar in his Akbar Namah, he has ignored him completely in Ain-i-Akbari. The Ain however gives biographical account of a minor Shattāri saint Sayyid Ali Qawām. It was edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān and translated into English by M. Blochmann and Jarrett (Bib. Indica, Calcutta 1894).

Wāqīāt-i-Mushtaqi was compiled by a shattāri sufi, Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi in Circa 1580 A.D. It contains some anecdotes bearing on the life of the Shattāri saints.

The work has not been published so far. I have used Rotograph of Ms. in B.M. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh.

Zafar-ul-Walah-ba-Muzaffar Walah provides valuable information about Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din's relations with the rulers of Gujarāt. It was compiled by Shāh Qāsim in 1018 A.D./ 1609 A.D. It was edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and published in London in 1928 A.D.

Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri. It contains interesting account of Jahāngir's visit to the Shattāri Khānqahs in Gujarāt. It was edited by Sayyid Ahmad and printed at the private press at Aligarh in 1281 A.H./1864 A.D.

Majalis-ul-Salatin is a brief history of the kings of Delhi, the Deccan and Kashmir and was completed in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D. by Muhammad Sharif al Najafi. He had visited Gujarāt, Mālwhā, Ajmer, Delhi, Agrā, Punjab, Sind and Kashmir in search of material for his work. Rotograph is preserved in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh.

Bad shāh Nāmāh of Abdul Hamid provides valuable information about Shaikh Isa Shattāri. The work has been edited by Kabir-u'd-din and Abdur Rahim and printed in college press, Calcutta in 1868 A.D.

Tarikh-i-Shāh Jahāni-wa-Alāmgiri, compiled by Abul Fadl Mamuri is extremely important as it furnishes detailed information about the visit of Aurangzeb to Shaikh Burhān.

(MS. in British Museum, RG. in Muslim University Library Aligarh).

Gwālior Nāmāh is a history of Gwālior from its origin to 1055 A.H./1645 A.D., by Jalāl Hisāri. The author had spent his life as secretary in the service of Sayyid Muzaffar Khān. The work is valuable as the author has mentioned the sufis who lived at Gwālior particularly Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and his descendants. Only manuscript of this work is preserved in the British Museum (N. Add/16859) Rotograph is in Muslim University Library at Aligarh.

Tārikh-i-Ferishtah. Though a later work, it provides important information about the role of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in bringing about the fall of Bairām Khān.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab. The author was a contemporary of Shaikh Burhān and furnishes valuable information about him. It was edited by Maulvi Kabir u'd-din Ahmad and Maulvi Ghulām Qadir and printed in college Press at Calcutta in 1869 A.D.

Mirat-i-Sikandari of Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhu gives valuable information about shattāri sufis of Gujarāt. It was published in 1307 A.H./1890 A.D. in Fateh-ul-Karim Press Bombay.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi. This work was completed in Safar 1175 A.H/ September 1761 A.D. and gives information about the Shattāri sufis of Ahmadābād.

It was edited by Sayyid Nawab Ali and published by the Government of Baroda and printed by P.Knight at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Maathir-ul-Umarā of Nawāb Samsam-ud-Daulah Shah Nawāz Khān compiled it in 1170 A.H./1757 A.D., and later enlarged by Abd-ul-Hai is very valuable as it provides information about the relations of the Shattāri saints with the Mughal nobles. It has been edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim and Maulvi Mirzā Ashraf Ali and printed in Urdu Guide in Calcutta in 1890 A.D.

Zakhirat-ul-Khawānīn of Shaikh Farid is valuable as it furnishes information about those Shattāri sufis who had accepted mansab. Manuscript dated 1259 A.H./1843 A.D. is in Muslim University Library, Aligarh (N. Habib Ganj 32/74). A portion of this work has been published from Karachi.

A P P E N D I X B

SHAIKH ABDULLAH

(Mandu) (Ob. 890 A.H./1485 A.D.)

Shaikh Hafiz (Jaunpur) (Ob. before 1488 A.D.)	Shaikh Muhammad Ala Qadin (Vaishali) (Ob. 901 A.H./ 1495 A.D.)
Shaikh Buddhan (Panipat) (Ob. after 1488 A.D.)	
Shaikh Risiq Ullah Mushtaql	Sayyid Ali Qawm (Jaunpur) (Ob. 905 A.H./1499 A.D.)
(Delhi) (Ob. 20th Rab.I, 989 A.H./1581 A.D.)	Shaikh Zahur Hamid (Saran) (Ob. 22 Zil Hijjah 930 A.H./ 1523 A.D.)
	Shaikh Mubarak Baladast (Jhunjhuna) (Ob. Circa 915 A.H./1509 A.D.)
	Shaikh Allah Bekbah (Garhmuktesar) (Ob. Circa 1535 A.D.)
Shaikh Bahlul (Miyana) (Ob. 945 A.H./1538 A.D.)	Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth (Gwalior) (Ob. 970 A.H./1562 A.D.)

Shaikh Ali
(Jandaha) (Ob. Circa 970 A.H/
1562 A.D.)

Shaikh Ala-u'd-din
(Jandaha) (Ob. Circa 993
A.H./1585 A.D.)

Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-din
(Hajipur) (Ob. Circa 1060
A.H./1650 A.D.)

Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din
(Hājipur) (Ob. 1070 A.H./
1659 A.D.)

Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din
(Hajipur) (Ob. 1117 A.H./
1706 A.D.)

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD CHAUGH

Shaikh Abdullah (Gwalior) (Ob. 1021 A.H./1612 A.D.)	Shaikh Ibrahim Miyān Aba (Burhānpur) (Ob. 999 A.H./ 1590 A.D.)	Shaikh Wali Muhammad (Burhānpur) (Ob. 987 A.H./1579 A.D.)	Sayyid Husain (Mahmūdabad) (Ob. Circa 943 A.H./1536 A.D.)
Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Dīr-ullah (Agra) (Ob. 1006 A.H./1597 A.D.)			
Shaikh Swāleh Hafiz (Mandu) (Ob. after 1022 A.H./1613 A.D.)	Shaikh Jamāl (Mandu) (Ob. 1014 A.H./ 1605 A.D.)	Shaikh Hamza Sadda Quraishī (Dīpalpur) (Ob. 1005 A.H./ 1596 A.D.)	
Shaikh Pir Meerutī (Meerut) (Ob. 1042 A.H./ 1632 A.D.)			
		Shaikh Abdur Rahmān Sufi Sirhindī (Agra) (Ob. 995 A.H./1586 A.D.)	

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD CHAUDH

Shaiikh Shams u'd-din (Bijapur) (Ob. 990 A.H./1582 A.D.)	Shaiikh Hamid Lār (Burhanpur) (Ob. Circa 990 A.H./ 1582 A.D.)	Sayyid Taj-ud- din (Lucknow) (Ob. after 976 A.H./ 1567 A.D.)	Shaiikh Ali (Ahmadabad) (Ob. after 970 A.H./ 1562 A.D.)
Shah Manjhan (Ashtah) (Ob. after 1001 A.H./1592 A.D.)	Shaiikh Sadr ud-din Dhakir (Baroda) (Ob. 989 A.H./ 1581 A.D.)	Shaiikh Abdul Wahid alias Tarik-ul-Inam (Mandsor) (Ob. 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.)	Shaiikh Khwajah Alam (Berpur) (Ob. Circa 980 A.H./1572 A.D.)
Shaiikh Makhu (Burhanpur) (Ob. 1010 A.H./ 1601 A.D.)	Raji Sayyid Mustufa (Ob. after 984 A.H./ 1576 A.D.)	Shaiikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi (Ahmadabad) (Ob. 998 A.H./ 1589 A.D.)	

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Shaikh Lad alias Shaikh Madud (Jamod) (Ob. 993 A.H./1585 A.D.)	Shaikh Abdul Haqq Jewah (Badoli) (Ob. Circa 990 A.H./ 1582 A.D.)	Shaikh Jalal Wasil (Kalpi) (Ob. Circa 999 A.H./1590 A.D.)	Shaikh Arif (Burhanpur) (Ob. 993 A.H./ 1585 A.D.)	Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari (Agra) (1010 A.H./1601 A.D.)
Shaikh Allah Bakhsh (Qwālior) (Ob. 970 A.H./1562 A.D.)	Shaikh Ibrāhīm Nuri (Ujjain) (Ob. after 1016 A.H./1607 A.D.)	Shaikh Pīr (Ahmadabad) 1540 A.D.)	(Ob. after 1589 A.D.)	Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil (Ujjain) (Ob. 998 A.H./ 1589 A.D.)
				Shaikh Muhammad Arshad (Jaumpur) (Ob. 1113 A.H./1701 A.D.)

SHAIKH WAJIB U'D-DIN ALAYI

Hakim Uthmān (Khāndesh) (Ob. 1008 A.H./ 1599 A.D.)	Shaikh Yusuf Bengali (Burhānpur) (Ob. Circa 1001 A.H./ 1592 A.D.)	Shaikh Abdullah (Ahmadābād) (Ob. 1016 A.H./1607 A.D.)	Qadi Jalāl u'd- din Multāni (Bijāpur) (Ob. 999 A.H./1590 A.D.)	Shaikh Kamāl Muhammad Abbāsī (Ujjain) (Ob. 1013 A.H./ 1604 A.D.)
Shaikh Muhammad Fadlullah (Burhānpur) (Ob. 1029 A.H./1619 A.D.)	Amir Sayyid Sibghat- ullah (Madina) (Ob. 1016 A.H./ 1606 A.D.)	Shaikh Abdul Qadir (Ujjain) (Ob. 1021 A.H./ 1612 A.D.)	Sayyid Yasin (Ob. after 1580 A.D.)	
Shaikh Haider (Ahmadābād) (Ob. after 1618 A.D.)	Shaikh Asadullah (Ahmadābād) (Ob. Circa 1017 A.H./1608 A.D.)			

SHAIKH SADR-U'D-DIN DEAKER

[illegible]

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Shaiikh Mahmud
(Burhānpur) (Ob. 1004
A.H./1595 A.D.)

Shalkh Isa
(Burhānpur) (Ob. 1031
A.H./1622 A.D.)

Shaikh Ibrahim Qari
Shattari
(Burhanpur) (Ob. 991
A.H./1583 A.D.)

**Shaikh Bābu Sindhi
(Burhānpur) (Ob. after
1015 A.H./1606 A.D.)**

Shahk Muhammad alias
Taj-ul-Ashiqin
(Lahore) (Ob. 1014 A.H./
1605 A.D.)

Shaikh Murtada
(Burhanpur) (Ob. 1022 A.H./1593 A.D.)

A P P E N D I X C

THE SHATTĀRI MONUMENTS

1. Tomb of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala Qadin at Vaishāli.
2. Tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwālior.
3. Masjid and Hujrah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Chunar.
4. Masjid of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Ahmadabad.
5. Tomb of Shah Daulat at Maner.
6. Tomb of Shaikh Wajih-ud-din Alavi at Ahmadabad.
7. Masjid of Pir Imām-ud-din at Rājgir.
8. Masjid of Shah Pir at Meerut.
9. Tomb of Shah Pir at Meerut.

TOMB OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ALA QADIN

The tomb of Muhammad 'Ala qadin is on the top of a brick stupa which is about 100 feet to the west of the south-west angle of the fort. The stupa is nearly 24 feet high and its diameter at the base is about 140 feet.¹ On the south side are twenty nine flight of steps leading to the grave of ShaiKh Muhammad 'Ala qadin.² The accompanying illustrations will best help to explain this monument.

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1. Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XVI p. 6.
 2. List of Ancient Monuments in Bihar & Orissa Province on p. 26 provides following incorrect information.

"The top of the mound has been levelled up for the reception of Muhammadan tombs, the largest and the most important of which is known as Miranji Ki Dargāh, but really contains the relics of a well-known saint of this country named ShaiKh Muhammad qadin."



GRAVE OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ALA QADIN



SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ALA GIRDIN'S TOMB

TOMB OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

The Rauḍā of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth is a fine mausoleum built of a yellowish grey sandstone. The monument stands on a raised platform which is a square of 100 feet with hexagonal towers at the corners, which are curiously attached by the angles instead of, as usual, by the sides.

The tomb consists of a large chamber 43 feet square with the angles cut off by pointed arches, from which springs a lofty dome.¹ Besides the grave of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth which occupies the central position under the dome there are six other graves probably of his relations and descendants. The grave of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth is on a raised ground and is enclosed with perforated stone panelled screens. Nearer his feet his eldest son Shaikh Abdullah is buried.

The walls are $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and the domed chamber is surrounded by a lofty verandah 23 feet wide.² The ceiling of the verandah is most elaborately carved with varied panels of floral and geometrical designs. Unlike the Islāmic tradi-

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1. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. II p. 369.
 2. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. II p. 369.

tion the qurānic verses and the Persian couplets are not carved in this monument. The verandah is enclosed on all sides by large stone lattices of the most intricate and elaborate pattern. These lattice screens are protected from the weather by the boldest eaves which are supported on long beams resting on brackets.

The monument was never completely finished. Marble used in the domed chamber is badly damaged by the people. The outside of the dome, which was once covered with blue glazed tiles, is now nearly bare.¹

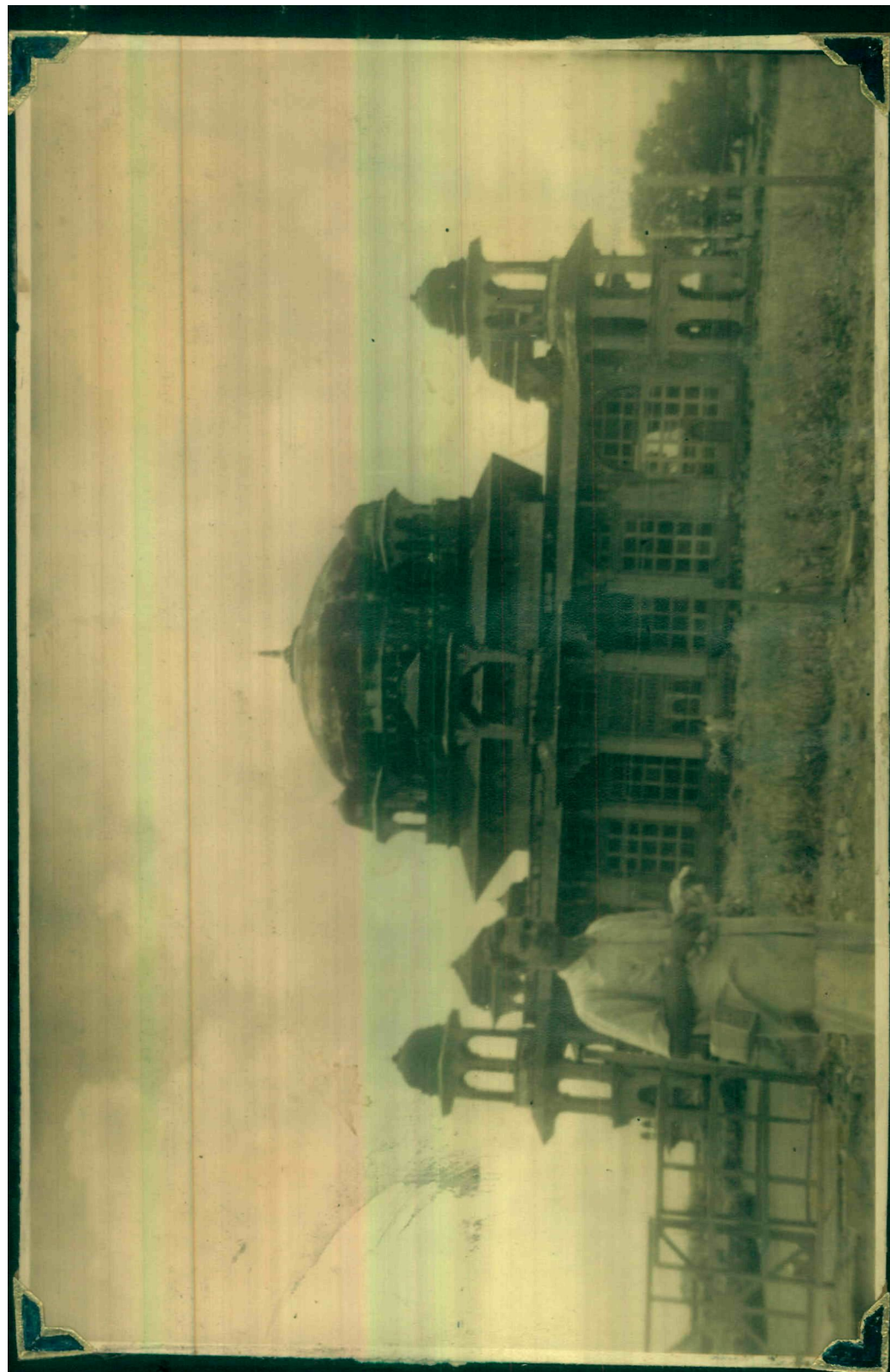
In front of the door of the mausoleum is a grave yard in which the descendants and the believers of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth are buried.

The tomb of Tan Sen is situated close to the southwest corner of the monument. It is a small open building, 22 feet square, supported on 12 pillars, with 4 central pillars surrounding the sarcophagus.² Over the tomb formerly grew a tamarind, the leaves of which, when chewed, were popularly supposed to endow the partaker with a most melodious voice, and which were in consequence much sought after by

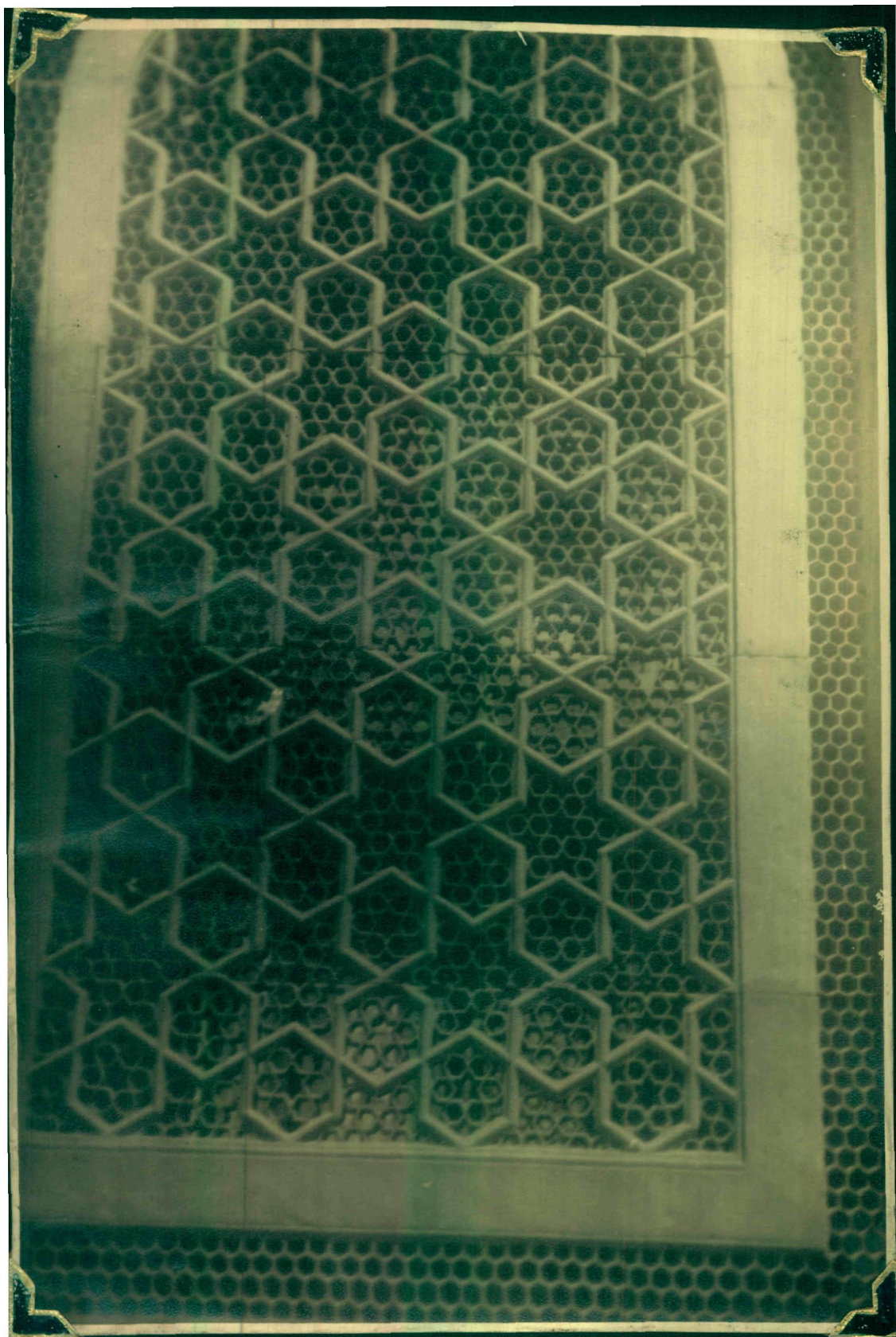
1. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. II p. 369.

2. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. II p. 370.

dancing-girls. So strong was this belief that the original tree died from the continual stripping of its leaves, and the present tree is only a degenerate seedling of the true melody-bestowing tamarind. Though the mausoleum of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth has been notified as protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act but the Archaeological Department of the Government of India is maintaining the tomb of Tan Sen only.



TOMB OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH



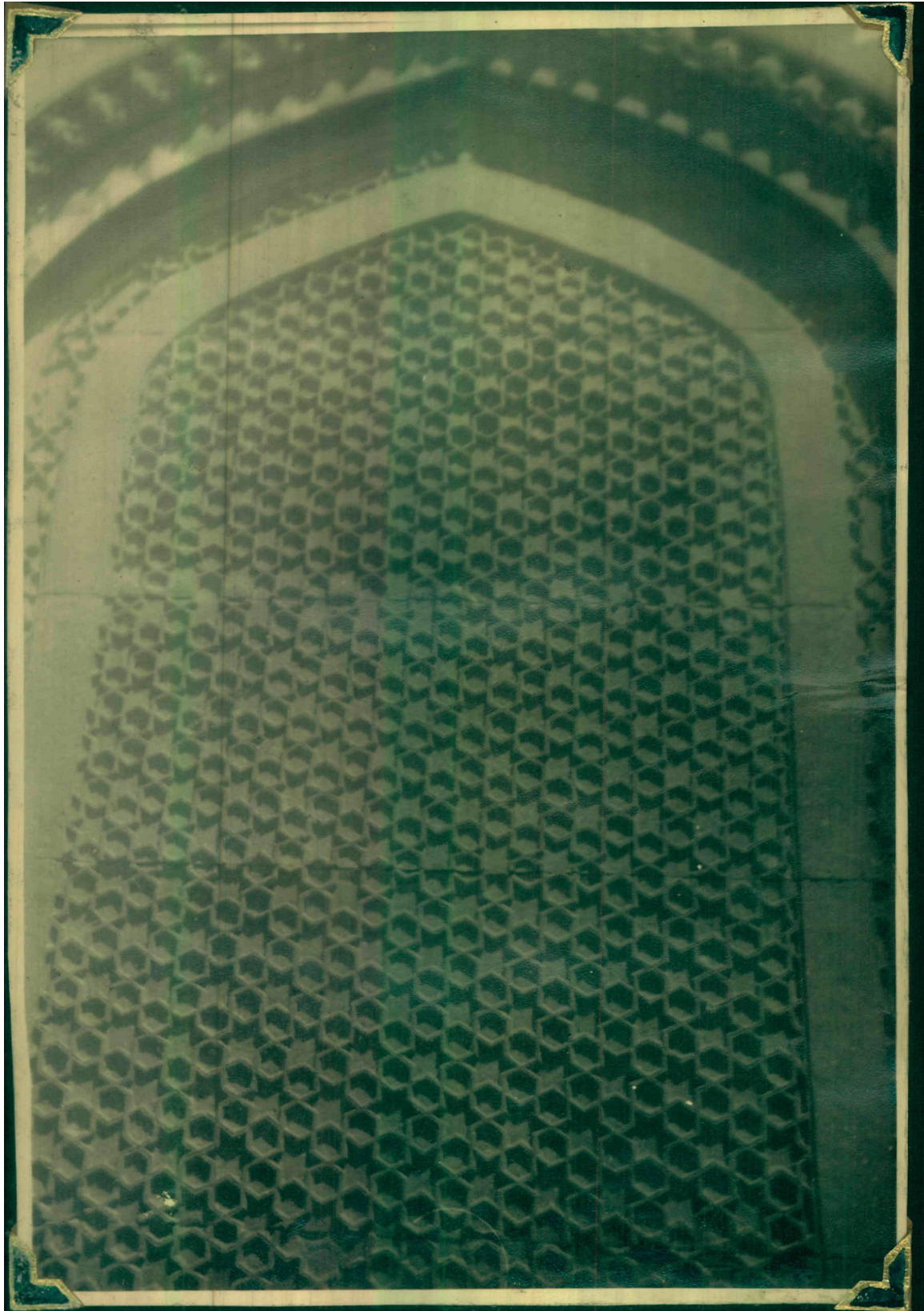
PERFORATED WINDOW



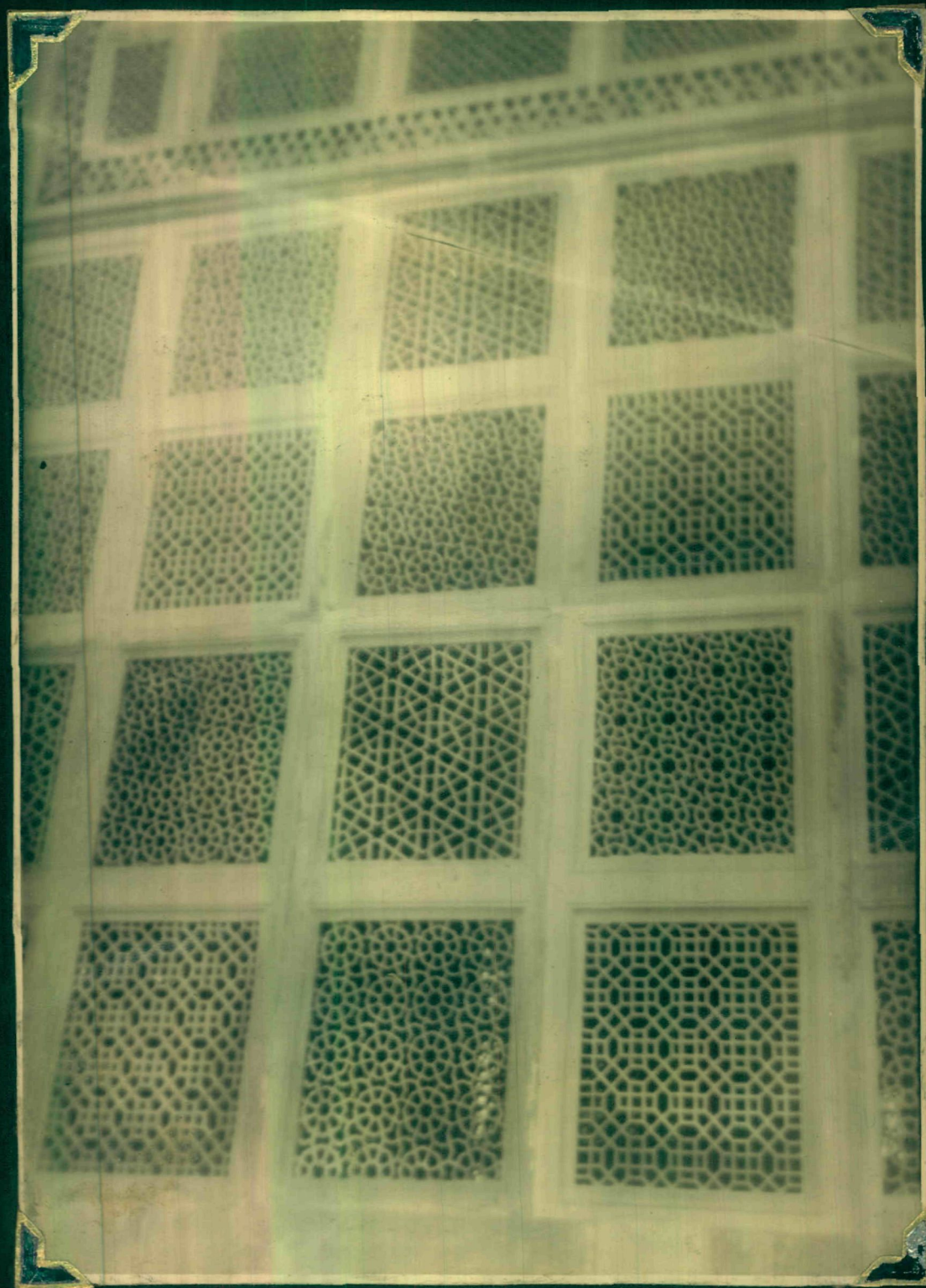
MAIN ENTRANCE



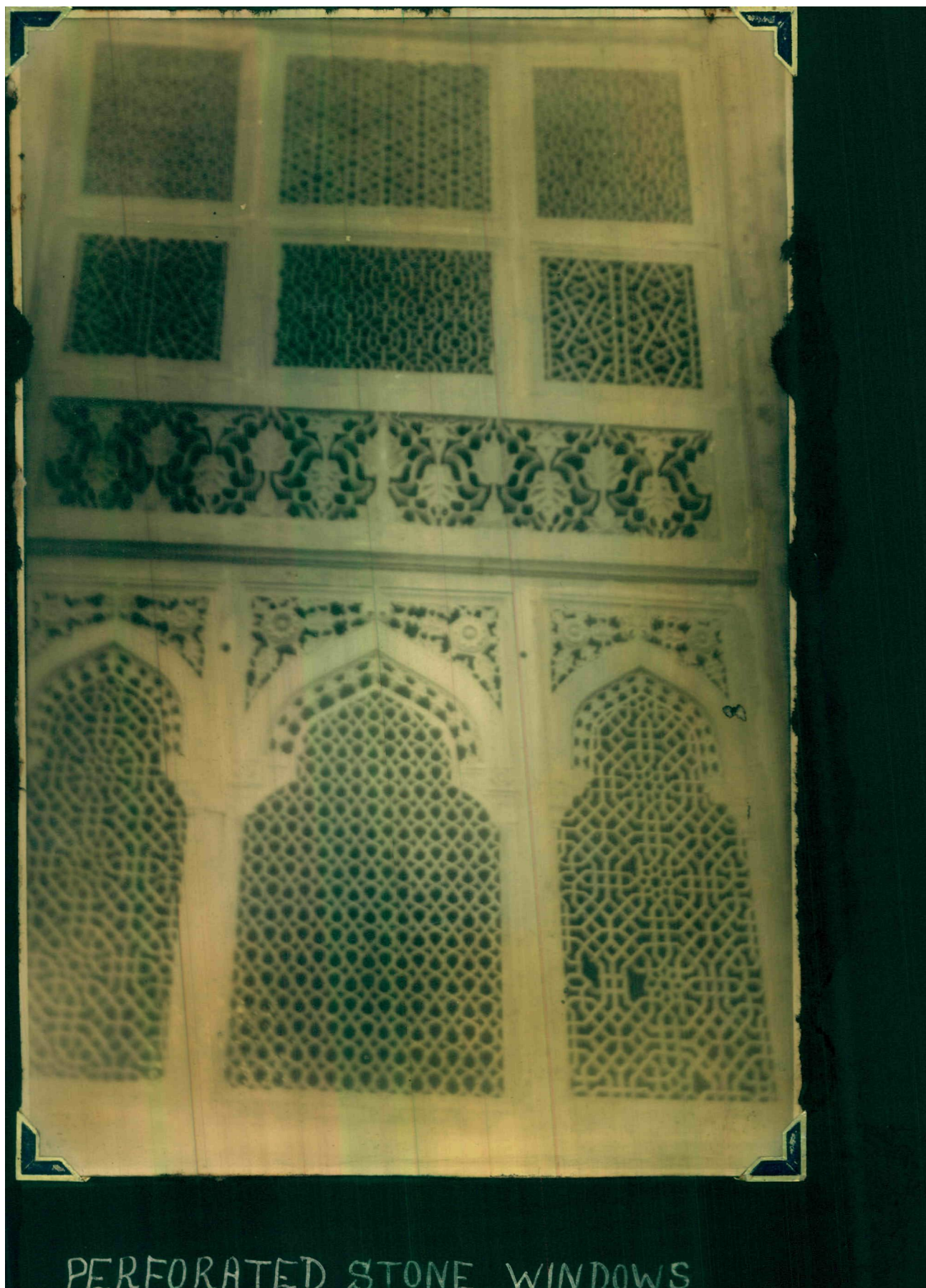
TOMB OF TANSEN



PERFORATED WINDOW



PERFORATED SCREEN



PERFORATED STONE WINDOWS

HUJRAH AND MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

The ruined Hujrāh of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth is about three miles from Chunar on Vindhya Chal. It is built of the Chunar sand stone and is of old pattern. The ceiling and the walls have fallen.

On the near by hill is a mosque of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth which is in a ruined condition. It is (about 24 ft. by 15 ft.) with an inscription of 3 lines over the central Mehrāb. The first two lines contain verses from the Qurān. The third line reveals that the Hujrāh and mosque were reconstructed in 982 A.H./1574 A.D.



MOJRA OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHADDA



MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

The masjid of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth is in the Sārangpur quarter on the Daulat Khānah street. It is about 330 yards to the south of Malik Sarang's mosque and is generally known as the Ektoda or one-turret mosque. In 1820 A.D. two acres and 32 perches, belonged to it.¹ Now it has no waqf and the cotton-printers have taken up the ground up to the sen. People have constructed houses on the west end and carry on their trade in the area.

This mosque differs considerably in conception from the other Ahmadabad mosques and looks like a bad copy of the Jaunpur mosques.

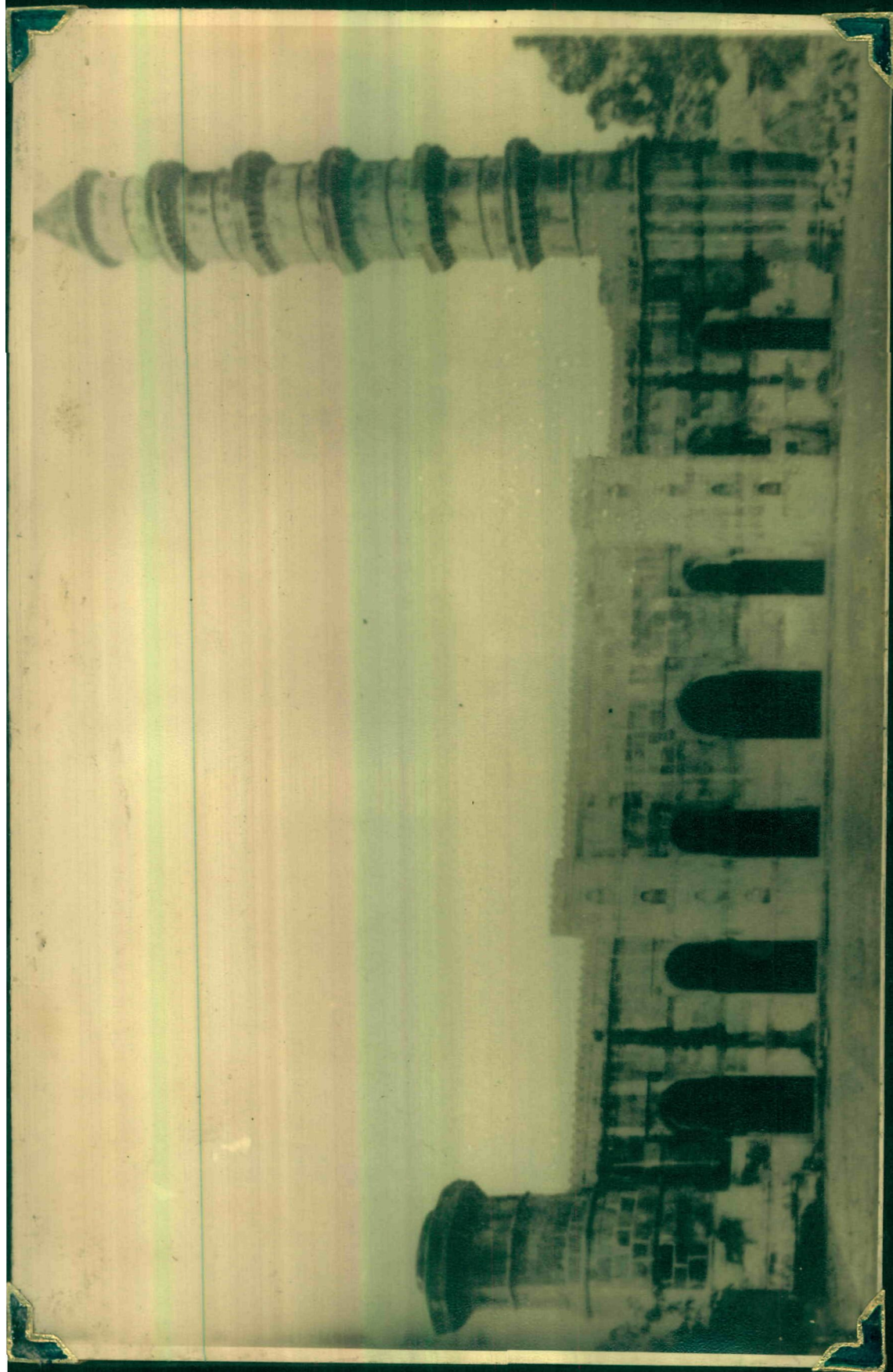
Jas. Burgess writes that this mosque has lost its character at the hands of the local Public Works Engineers. Till about twenty-five years ago it had a great propylon which had survived the shock of the earthquake of 1819. It was 48 feet in height by 43 feet wide with a recessed arch in it about 38 feet high.² The whole was taken down to nearly the level of the roof which entirely changed the appearance of the facade.

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1. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II p. 48.
 2. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II p. 48.

The accompanying illustration from colonel Brigg's photograph, taken about 1865, gives some idea of its appearance at that time.¹

The interior of the mosque is divided into squares by two rows of six pillars each, with corresponding pilasters and the whole are connected by groined arches with carved pendentives supporting the almost flat domes of the roof.²

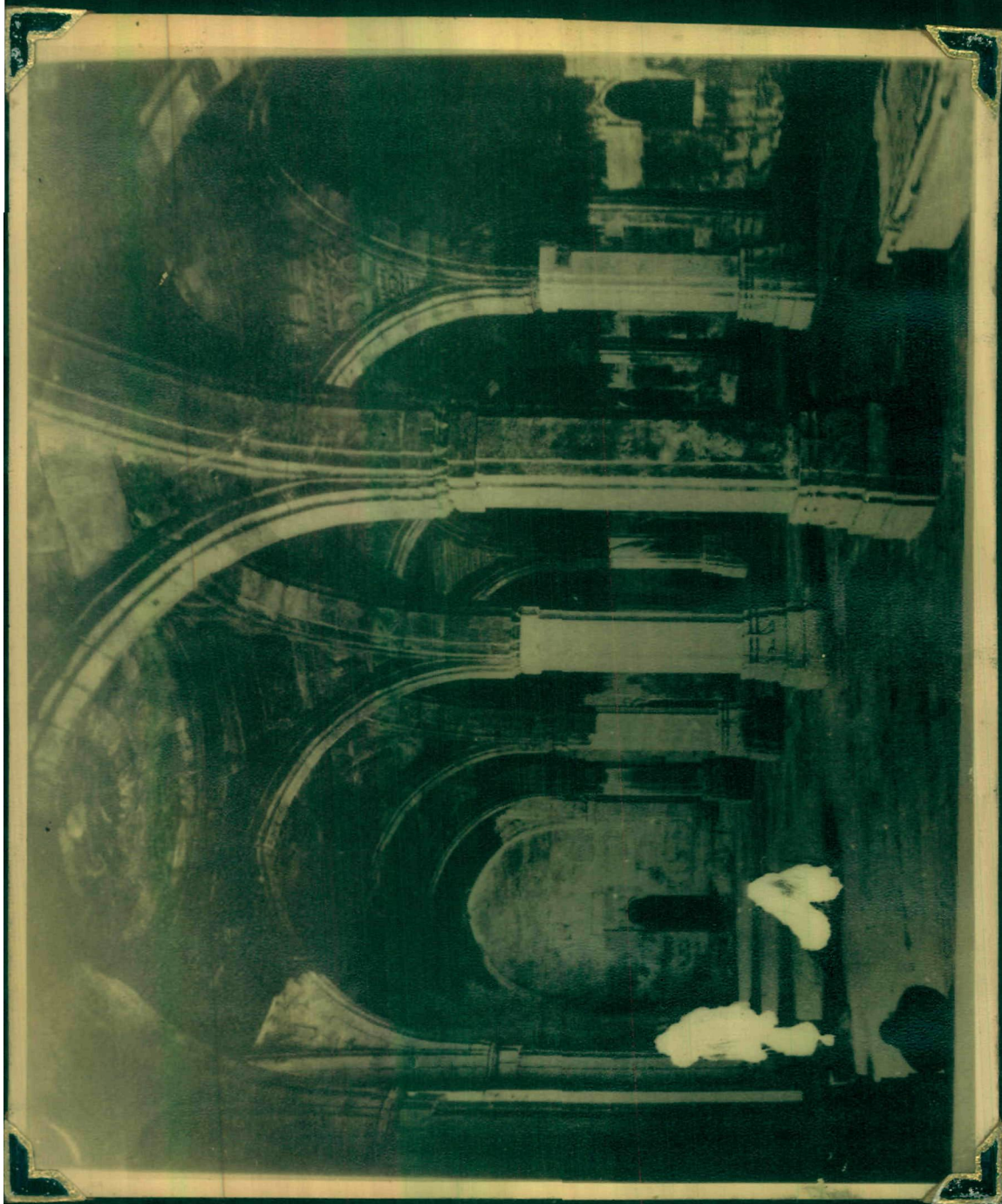
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1. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II p. 49.
 2. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II p. 49.



MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH



FRONT FACADE OF THE MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD
GHAUTH BEFORE 1880



INTERIOR OF THE MASJID OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUTH

TOMB OF SHAH DAULAT

The mausoleum is the finest monument in the Bihar Province. It is situated by the side of a tank and occupies the centre of a large brick enclosure measuring 257 ft. by 252 ft. and about 10 feet high¹. There is a twelve-sided tower at each of the four corners of the enclosure.

The tomb stands on a raised platform about 58 feet square and 2 ft. 4 ins high. In the middle is a square chamber which is roofed by a grand hemispherical dome. The domed chamber is enclosed on all sides by a verandah 11 ft. 8 ins. wide. The ceiling of the verandah is elaborately carved — the carving being comparable to the best work done in the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwālior. Unlike the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, the lofty ceiling of the verandah is carved with verses from the Qurān. At each corner of the verandah is a open room on which four small cupolas are built. Each cupola is decorated with chhajjā and carved parapets and is supported by 12 pillars.

The tomb chamber is 31 feet square. On each side it is supported by four lofty stone pillars. The gaps between the pillars are filled with horizontal mouldings, rows of beautiful

1. List of Ancient Monuments in the Bihar and Orissa Province
p. 61.

niches, and three arches which contain rectangular stone jalis. Above the jalis Allah-u Kāfi in bold Arabic letters is carved. Under the magnificent dome are three graves. The grave of Shāh Daulat is in the centre. Of the two others near his feet, the one to east is that of his wife, and the other to west is that of Ibrāhim Khān, the builder of the monument.

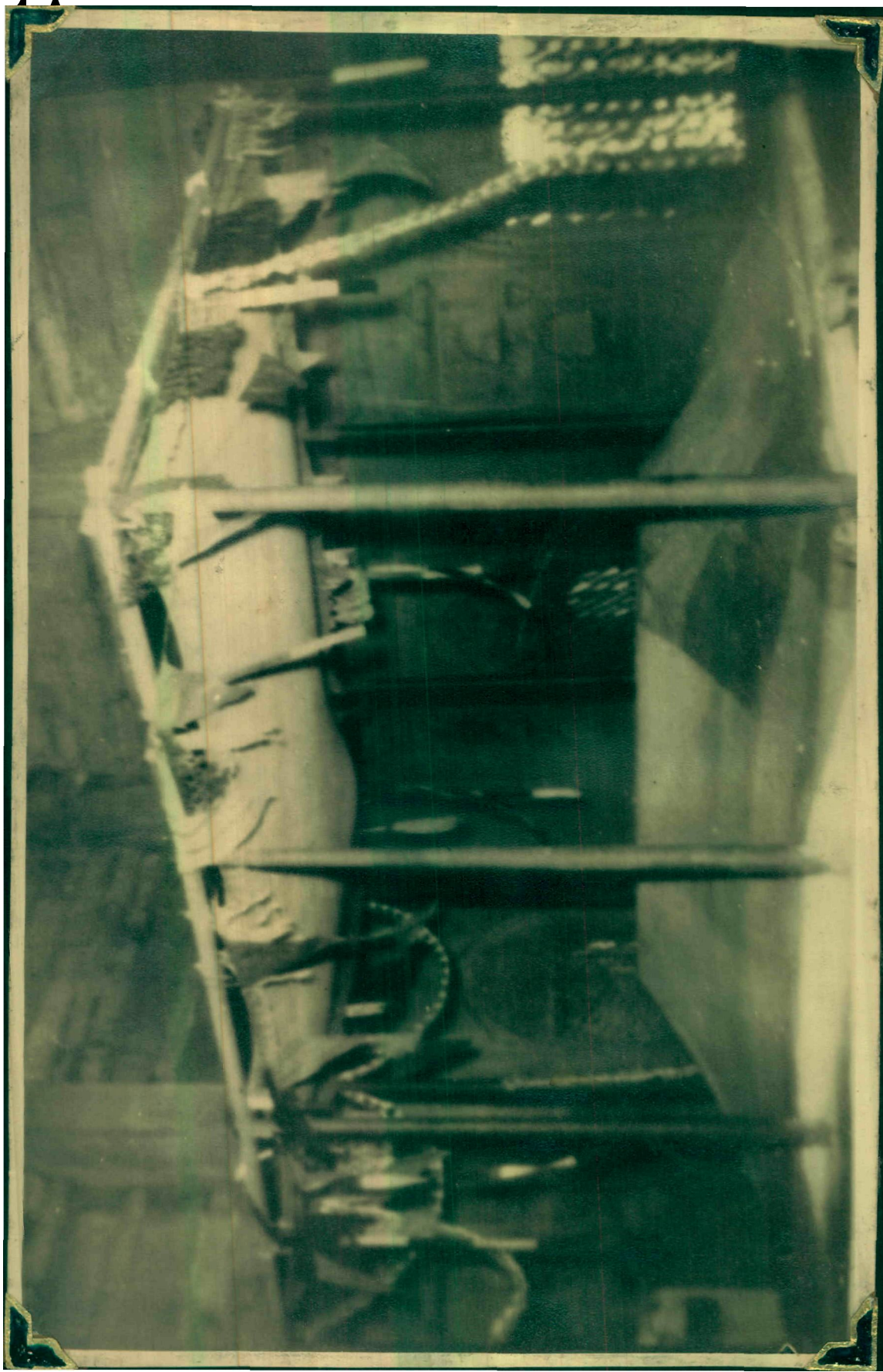
There is an open gallery supported by stone pillars in the north and west sides of the tomb. A small mosque (58 ft. by 24 ft.) is in the middle of the west gallery.¹ Over the central entrance of the mosque the verses of the Qurān are inscribed. Below the Qurānic verses are two Persian couplets which give the date of the completion of the mosque as 1028 A.H./1619 A.D.

Opposite the tomb is a large gateway which is of the usual Early Mughal type. An octagonal tower containing a stair which leads up to the roof is on either side of the gate. The entrance is only 5 ft. 9 ins. wide.² On the outer front, near the parapets is an inscription in Arabic verse giving 982 A.H./1574 A.D. as the date of the gate.

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1. List of Ancient Monuments in the Bihar and Orissa Province,
p. 63.
 2. List of Ancient Monuments in the Bihar and Orissa Province,
p. 63.



TOMB OF SHAH DAULAT



VIEW OF THE DOMED CHAMBER

TOMB OF SHAIKH WAJIH UD-DIN ALAVI

The tomb of Shaikh Wajih ud-din Alavi stands in the middle of a largewalled enclosure about 150 yards north of the walls of the Bhadr and little more from the city wall in the Khanpur ward. The inner chamber is about $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $58\frac{1}{2}$. The roof which is eighteen square formed by the lintels is supported by the two rows of five pillars each along the floor. The pillars are 10 feet 4 inches high.¹

The grave of Shaikh Wajih ud-din Alavi is under the principal dome and is in the middle of the west half of the monument. The grave is of marble and over it is a tower with a square base having windows on each side and changing to round, surmounted by a dome, the lower portion of which projects beyond its circular support.²

There are nine graves, said to be of the relatives of Shaikh Wajih ud-din Alavi in the south east of the monument.

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1. The Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II, p. 53.
 2. The Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. VIII Part II, p. 53.



TOMB OF SHAIKH WAJIH UD-DIN ALAVI

MASJID OF PIR IMĀM UD-DIN RAJGIR

The Masjid stands between the tomb and the Mardan Khānah of Pir Imām ud-din Rājgiri. It has three brick qiblas and an inscription on a stone over the central one which reveals that Farrukh Siyār built the masjid in 1129 A.H./1716 A.D.

It is 30 ft. by 12 ft. and the central inner chamber is roofed by a hemispherical dome. Now the Khānah and the Masjid of Pir Imām ud-din are in a dilapidated condition.



MASJID OF PIR IMAMUD-DIN

MASJID OF SHAH PIR OF MEERUT

The Masjid is one of the most beautiful mosques in the Meerut city and is situated at a distance of 500 yards from the tomb of Shāh Pir.

Infront of the Masjid is a big court yard and a boundary wall. The Masjid measures 92 ft. 5 ins. in length inside by 27 ft. 8 ins. deep. The roof has three large domes the interiors of which are plain. There is a inscription on the central door which reveals that it was constructed at the instance of Emperor Jahāngir.



MASJID OF SHAIKH PIR



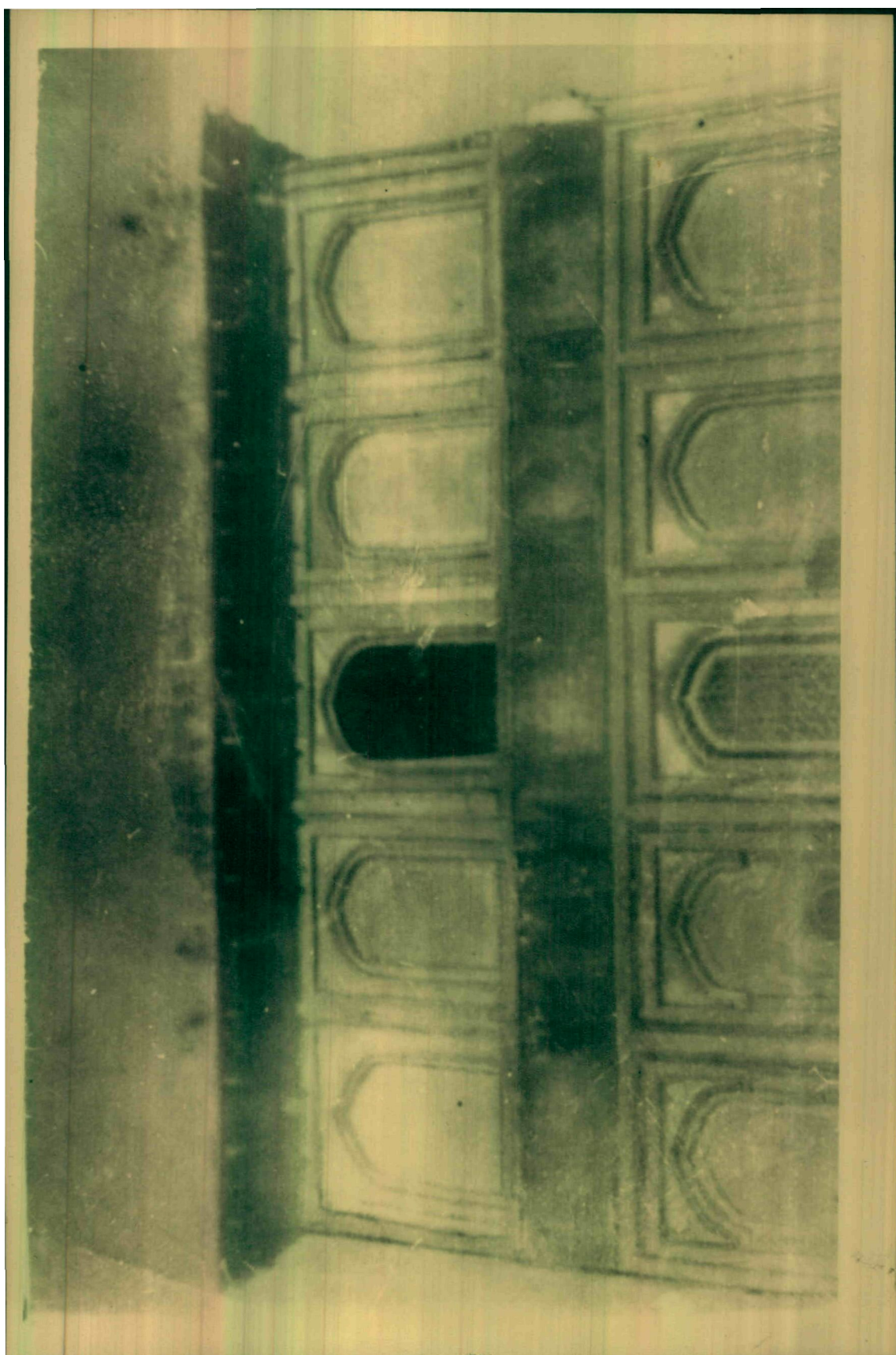
INTERIOR OF THE MASJID OF SHAIKH PIR

THE TOMB OF SHAH PIR OF MEERUT

The tomb stands upon a platform, 73 feet 7 ins. square; on this were pillars which supported the verandah in front of the grave chamber. The building has been long uncared for and roughly handled; some of the beautiful perforated stone windows have been destroyed. It was planned to construct a verandah 73 ft. 7 ins. by 12 ft. 10 ins. surrounding the main structure. Seven chabutras 11 ft. by 11 ft. around the tomb reveal that the monument could not be completed.

The main chamber is 32 ft. square inside and contains four door which are 5 ft. 4 ins. wide and are 13 ft. 6 ins. from the corners of the room. The three doors are closed by the perforated screens. The walls are unusually richly carved but there is no inscription in the monument.

In the middle of the chamber is the grave of Shāh Pir. Unlike the tomb of Shāh Daulat dome is not constructed and the roof is left open. The outer walls are decorated with the perforated windows and screens.





TOMB OF SHAH N PIR SOUTH-EAST CORN



APPENDIX D

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

PERSIAN & ARABIC WORKS (Arranged in alphabetical order).

Awrad-i-Imām-u'd-din

(also named Muqtabasul Anwār undated).
Pir Imām-u'd-din Rājgiri (Ob. 1130 A.H./1717 A.D.)
(MS. in Khānqah, Islāmpur).

'Ain-ul-M'ani

Shaikh Isā written in 989 A.H./1581 A.D.
(MSS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur,
Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta).

Awrad-i-Ghauthiyāh

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth
written in Circa 956 A.H./1549 A.D.
(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Private Library
of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān, Bihār, Khānqah-i-Hadrat Munam Pāk,
Patna).

Akbar Nāmah

Abul Fadl
Published by Munshi Newal Kishore Kānpur (1298 A.H./1881 A.D.)

Adab-udh-dhikr

Jaffar Muhammad
compiled in 1097/1686
(MS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta).

Anis-ul-Musafrin

Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri
written in 955 A.H./1548 A.D.
(MS. in the Private Collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar
at Machlishahir).

Ashghāl-i-Shattār

Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri (Ob. 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.)
(MS. in the Private Collection of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān
at Bihār).

Ashghāl-i-Shattāriyah

'Abdul Ghafoor

compiled in 1120 A.H./1708 A.D.

(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Khānqah,
Maner, National Library, Calcutta).

'Alam gir Nāmāh

Muhammad Kāzim

compiled in 1078 A.H./1667 A.D.

Edited by Khadim Husain and Abdul-Hai

Printed at the College Press Calcutta 1868.

Akhbār-ul-Asfiyā

Abdus Samad

completed in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.

(MSS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur,
Khānqah, Kakori).

'Ain-i-Akbari

Abu'l-Fadl

Edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān. Translated into English
by M. Blochmann and Jarrett (Bib. Indica, Calcutta 1894).

Akhbār-ul-Akhyār

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq (Ob. 1052 A.H./1642 A.D.)

(Mujtabai Press Delhi 1309 A.H./1891 A.D.)

(MS. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh).

Awrad-i-Sufiyā

Shaikh 'Abdullah Sufi Shattāri

written in 954 A.H./1547 A.D.

(MSS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur,
India Office Library, Library at Peshāwar).

'Aainah-i-Haq Numāh-Sharah-i-Jam-i-Jahān Numāh

Shaikh Ibrāhim

completed in 991 A.H./1583 A.D.

(MSS. in Rada State Library, ^{Rampur} Khānqah-i-Arzān Sahab
Patna City).

Asnād-i-Ashghāl-i-Shattāriyah

Jaffar Muhammad

compiled in 1075 A.H./1664 A.D.

(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, National
Library, Calcutta).

Awrad-i-Qadin Shattar

Muhammad 'Ala qadin (Ob. 901 A.H./1495 A.D.)
(MSS. in the Private Collection of Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān,
Bihār, Khādims of the dargah of Shaikh Hadiyatullah at
Hajipur).

Bahr-i-Zakhkhar

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Sufi
written in Circa 1727 A.D.
(MSS. in Private Collection of Maulvi Fasih-u'd-din,
Jaunpur, Barood Wali Khānqah, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow,
Taksal Wali Khānqah Farangi Mahal Lucknow, Khānqah, Kakori)

Bahr-ul-Hayat

Muhammad Ghauth Gwāliori
written in Circa 954 A.H./1547 A.D.
(MSS. in Khānqah-i-Mujibiyah Phulwāri, Asafiya Library,
Hydrābad Deccan, Muslim University Library, Aligarh).

Badshah Nāmah

Abdul Hamid Lahori (Ob. 1065 A.H./1654 A.D.)
Edited by Kabir-u'd-din and Abdur Rahim
Printed in College Press, Calcutta in 1868.

Bābur Nāmah (Translation from Turkish)

Zahir-u'd-din Muhammad Bābur
Translated by Annette Susannah Beveridge
Sold by Luzac and Co. 46, Great Russell Street London 1922.

Bahr-ul-Anwar

Shaikh Phool
compiled in Circa 965 A.H./1557 A.D.
(MS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur).

Bivād-i-Khās

Muhammad Husain Kashmiri
completed in Circa 966 A.H./1558 A.D.
(MS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur).

Besar Nāmah

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in State Library, Dholpur).

Chahar Pir-wa-Chahar deh Khanwadeh

Shaikh Jamil

written in 1009 A.H./1600 A.D.

(MS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur).

Dau-al-darari

Ghulām Ali Azad Bilgrāmi

written in Circa 1170 A.H./1756 A.D.

(MS. in the Private Collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar at Machlishahir).

Diwāns

Ghulām Ali Azad Bilgrāmi

A selection of his verses have been published under the title Sab'ah Sayyarah in the Asi Press Lucknow in 1328 A.H./1910 A.D.

Fateh Muhammadi

Shaikh Isā (c. 1031AH/1621AD)

(MS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur).

Futuh-ul-Awrad

Fateh Muhammad Ibn Shaikh Isā

completed in 1057 A.H./1647 A.D.

(MS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta).

Fatwat of Shaikh Isā

Shaikh Fateh Muhammad

It was compiled in Circa 1034 A.H./1624 A.D.

(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Private Collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishahar).

Fawaid-ul-FU'ad

Conversations of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya

compiled by Amir Hasan Sijzi

(Newal Kishore, Lucknow 1302 A.H./1884 A.D.)

Gulzār-i-Abrār

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi Shattāri

completed in 1022 A.H./1613 A.D.

(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library Calcutta, Rada State Library Rampur, Muslim University Library, Aligarh, India Office Library, Rotograph is in Historical Research Institute, Aligarh).

Guftār-i-Shaikh 'Isā

Anonymous ^{is missing}
compiled in 1037 A.H./1627 A.D.
(MSS. in Rada State Library, Rampur, Asiatic Society
Library, Calcutta).

Gwalior Nāmāh

Jalāl Hisari (1055 A.H./1645 A.D.)
(MS. in British Museum, Rotograph in Muslim University
Library, Aligarh).

Ganj-i-Rashidi

Nusrat Jamāl Khan Multāni
completed in 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.
(MS. in the library of the Khānqah at Jaunpur).

Ganj-i-Arshadi

Shaikh Shukrullah
compiled in Circa 1113 A.H./1701 A.D.
(MSS. in the Library of the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Rashid at
Jaunpur, Muslim University Library at Aligarh, Rieu
iii N. 1013b.)

Ganj-i-Faiyādi

Shaikh Ghulam Sharf-u'd-din
completed in 1147 A.H./1734 A.D.
(MSS. in the Library of the Khānqah of Shaikh Rashid
at Jaunpur, Browne Pers. Cat. iii; Ivanow Curzon, N.80).

Hashiyā-tul-Alavi-Ali-Sharah-un-nukhbah

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MSS. in the Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shah,
Ahmadābād, Rada State Library, Rampur where the title
of the work is given as Sharah Nukhbat al-Fikar).

Hashiyāh-bar-Sharah-i-Diyayiah

Shaikh Isā (Ob. 1031 A.H./1621 A.D.)
(MS. in the Private Collection of Maulvi Fasih-u'd-din,
Jaunpur).

Hashiyah Sharah Mukhtasir Talkhis

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwā, Lucknow).

Hashiyah-bar-Isharat-i-Gharibiyah

Shaikh Isā (ob. 1031 A.H./1621 A.D.)
(MS. in the Library of the Khanqah of Shaikh Burhān
at Burhanpur).

Hawash-i-'Ali-ul-Munhil

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in Private Collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh,
Ahmadabad).

Hashiyah-i-Matul

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in the Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwā, Lucknow).

Hidaya-i-Fiqah

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in Dār-ul-Uloom Nadwā, Lucknow)

Hashiyah-i-Sharah Kalamat-ul-'Aeen.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)
(MS. in the Khanqah-i-Rashidiyah, Jaunpur).

Irshād-ul-'Alamin

Shaikh Muhammad Rada
compiled in Circa *1698 A.D.
(MS. in Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur).

Isrār-ud-Dāwat

Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattāri
written in 957 A.H./1550**A.D.
(MS. in Khanqah, Maner).

Iqbal Nāmāh

Mutamad Khān
completed in 1627 A.D.
It was published in Calcutta in 1865 A.D. and in
Lucknow 1870.

Jami-ul-Fiqah

Pir Muhammad Shattari

written in 1050 A.H./1640 A.D.

(MSS. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh, Fort Library, Rewa, private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishahar.

Jawab-i-Khamsah

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth

written in Circa 1525 A.D.

(MSS. in Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, Khānqah, Maner, Asafiya Library, Hyderābād, Deccan, Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, private collection of Sayyid Ghulam Hasnain, Phulwari, private collection of Shah Iz-u'd-din Phulwari, Ghamgin academy, Gwalior private collection of Sayyid Ajaz Husain, Kaliar, India Office Library, Cambridge University Library, Muslim University Library, Aligarh, private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar, Machlishahar.

Kalimat-us-Sadiqin

Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani

written in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D.

(MS. in Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur).

Kalid-i-Makhzan

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth

written in 947 A.H./1540 A.D.

(MSS. in the private collection of Maulvi Ayaz Ali, Rewa, private collection of Nawab Najm-u'd-din Bihar).

Kinz-ul-Wasilin

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth

written in 946 A.H./1539 A.D.

Manuscripts are discovered in the private collection of Maulvi Muhammad Umar at Machlishahar and private collection of Sayyid Ajaz Husain, Kaliar.

Khizanah-i-'amirah

Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami

written in 1176 A.H./1762 A.D.

It was published by the Newal Kishore Press Lucknow in 1871 A.D.

Kashf-ul-Mahjub

Shaikh 'Alī Hujwerī, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh
Persian text printed at Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore
English translation by R.A. Nicholson (London 1936).

Karamat-i-Auliya

Nizām-u'd-din Ahmad
written in 1068 A.H./1657 A.D.
(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, British Museum).

Khazinat-ul-Asfiya

Hāfiz Ghulām Sarwar
compiled in 1290 A.H./1873 A.D.
(Thamar-i-Hind Press Lucknow 1872 A.D.).

Khulasat-ul-Isrār

Sufi bin Jouher Jhan Jahanvi
compiled in 1066 A.H./1655 A.D.
(MS. in Rada State Library, Rampur).

Khwas-i-Nawadh-wa-Nuh-Nam

Shaikh Fateh Muhammad
compiled in 1026 A.H./1617 A.D.
(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, University
Library, Lucknow).

Kashf-ul-Haqāyiq

(Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Isā) (Ob. 1031 A.H./1621 A.D.)
collected by Ismail Farhi
(MSS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, Burhānpur, private
collection of Imdād Ali, Ajmer).

Lubb-ud-Daqāyiq

(Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān Ob. 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.)
collected by Muhammad Yusuf
(MSS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, Burhānpur, Khānqah-i-
Rashidiyāh, Jaunpur).

Khulasat-ul-Awrad (Intikhab of Futuh-ul-Awrad)

Shahāb-u'd-din Wālī Shaikh Fateh Muhammad
compiled in 1068 A.H./1657 A.D.
(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Asafiya Library
Hydrābād, Deccan).

Lata'if-i-Ghaibiyāh

Shaikh Abdullah Shattārī (Ob. 890 A.H./1485 A.D.)
(MSS. in the Khānqah, Maner, private collection of Sayyid Ajāz Husain, Kaliar).

Malfuz-i-Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Shattārī

Pir Imām-u'd-din Rājgiri
collected from 21 Rabi I 1104 A.H./1692 A.D. to 18th Jamadiul
I 1117 A.H./1705 A.D.
(MS. in the private collection of Nawāb Shāh Ali of Islāmpur
and Panhar).

Maktubat-i-Qadin Shattār (Ob. 901 A.H./1495 A.D.)

(Preserved in the Khānqah, Library at Maner).

Mirat-ul-Asrār

Abdur Rāhmān
compiled in 1065 A.H./1654 A.D.
(MSS. in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Oriental Khudā
Baksh Public Library, Bankipur, British Museum, National
Library, Calcutta).

Malfuzāt (of Shaikh Burhān) (Ob. 1116 A.H./1704 A.D.)

collected by 'Ilm-Ullah Kamāl
(MS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, Burhānpur).

Malfuzāt (of Shaikh Burhān) (Ob. 1116 A.H./1704 A.D.)

collected by Muhammad Yusuf
(MS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, Burhānpur).

Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Burhān (Ob. 1116 A.H./1704 A.D.)

collected by Salim-Ullah
(MS. in the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān, Burhānpur).

Malfuzāt-i-Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din (Ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.)

compiled by Shaikh Bahādur
(MSS. in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh, private
collection of Pir Muhammad Shāh, Ahmadābād, Asiatic Society
Library, Calcutta).

Majālis-ul-Salātin.

Muhammad Sharif al-Najafi
completed in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D.
For Manuscript see Rieu III 906b and Rotograph is preserved
in the Muslim University Library, at Aligarh.

Maathir-i-Alamgiri

Muhammad Saqi alias Mustaid Khān
written in 1122 A.H./1710 A.D.

(MSS. in Rieu i 270a, 271a, iii 936b, 937a, Rotograph is in the Muslim University Library at Aligarh.

Maathir-ul-Kiram

Ghulām Ali Azād Bilgrāmi
written in 1166 A.H./1752 A.D.

It has been published. Its Manuscripts are in Asafiyāh Library (N.105), Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, (N.723), Ette (N.682), I.O. (N.3923), Rieu 971a, Berlin 603.

Maadin-ul-Asrār

Muhammad 'Ala qadin Maneri (Ob. 901 A.H./1495 A.D.)
(MSS. in the Khānqah, Maner, Khānqah Library of Shaikh Burhān at Burhānpur, and the private collection of Sayyid Ajāz Husain of Kaliar).

Manahij-us-Shattār

Imām-u'd-din Rājgiri
1115 A.H./1703 A.D.

(MSS. in the private collection of Nawāb Shāh Ali Shattāri of Islāmpur, Khānqah, Maner).

Ma'arifi-ul-Walayāt

Ghulām Moin-u'd-din
written in 1094 A.H./1682 A.D.

(MS. in the private collection of Prof.K.A.Nizāmi, Aligarh).

Majma:-ul-Bahrain

Shaikh Isā (Ob. 1031 A.H./1621 A.D.)

(MS. in the Library of the Khānqah-i-Shaikh Burhān at Burhanpur).

Majalis-ul-Ushshaq

Sultān Husain bin Sultān Mansur
written in 1502 A.D.

Manuscripts are found in the Oriental Khudā Bakhsh Public Library Bankipur, British Museum, India Office Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, See also Flugel Vol. iii p. 427; Jahrbucher p. 84; Anzeigeblatt p.38.

Majmuah-i-Shi'rājāt

Anonymous

written in 1099 A.H./1687 A.D.

(MSS. in private collection of Maulvi Ayāz Ali, Rewā, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh).

Mirat-i-Sikandari

Sikandar ibn Muhammad Manjhu

written in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D.

Published in 1307/1890 A.D. in Fateh-ul-Karim Press Bombay.

Makhzan-ud-dāwāt

Shaikh Ismā'il Farhi

written in 1041 A.H./1631 A.D.

(MSS. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh, Asafiya Library, Hydrābād, Deccan, Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Khānqah Islampur).

Maktubat-i-Khan-i-Jahan Muzaffar Khān

Sayyid Muzaffar Khān (Ob. 1055 A.H./1645 A.D.)

MS. in British Museum, R.G. in Muslim University Library, Aligarh.

Mahfil-i-Asfiya Majma-ul-Auliya

Ali Akbar Husaini Ardastani

compiled in 1043 A.H./1633 A.D.

(MSS. in Rada State Library, Rampur, India Office Library, Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta).

Makhzan-i-Jawāhar-ul-Isrār

Imād-u'd-din Muhammad Arif

written in Circa 1003 A.H./1594 A.D.

(MS. in Rada State Library, Rampur).

Mirat-i-Ahmadi

Mirzā Muhammad Hasan

written in 1175 A.H./1761 A.D.

Edited by Sayyid Nawāb Ali, M.A.

Published by the Government of Baroda, Printed by P.Knight at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Miftah-ut-Tawārikh

Bel Tamus William

completed in 1264 A.H./1847 A.D.

Printed in the Newal Kishore Press in Rajab 1284 A.H./ November 1867 A.D.

Munis-ul-Fuqarā

Mahmud ibn Ahmad Al Husaini
written in 1081 A.H./1670 A.D.
(MS. in the private library of Nawāb Najm-u'd-din, Bihar).

Manba-ul-Ansāb

Sayyid Moin-ul-Haq Jhounsvi
Circa 898 A.H./1492 A.D.
(MSS. in Dar-ul-Uloom, Nadwa, Oriental Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, British Museum).

Mari-ul-bahrain

Saif-u'd-din Abul Hasan
completed in 1026 A.H./1617 A.D. revised in 1041 A.H./1631 A.D.
(MS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta).

Miftah-us-Slāt

Shaikh Fateh Muhammad
compiled in 1034 A.H./1624 A.D.
(MS. in Dar-ul-Uloom, Nadwa).

Maathir-ul-Umara

Nawab Samsam-u'd-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān
written in 1170 A.H./1756 A.D.
Maulvi Abdur Rahim and Maulvi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali edited it and
printed in Urdu Guide in Calcutta in 1890 A.D.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh

'Abdul Qadir Badāuni
written in 1004 A.H./1595 A.D.
Edited by Maulvi Ahmad Ali
Printed at the college Press Calcutta 1868.

Mairāj Nāmāh

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth
written in Circa 947 A.H./1540 A.D.
(MSS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, private collection of
Nawāb Ahmad Hasan Khān, Bihar).

Munis-udh-dhakirin

Shaikh Allāh Bakhsh Garh Maktesari (Ob. 1002 A.H./1593 A.D.)
Printed in January 1888 A.D. in the Society Press at Bas Brel.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab

Muhammad Hashim Ali Khān alias Khwafī Khān
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